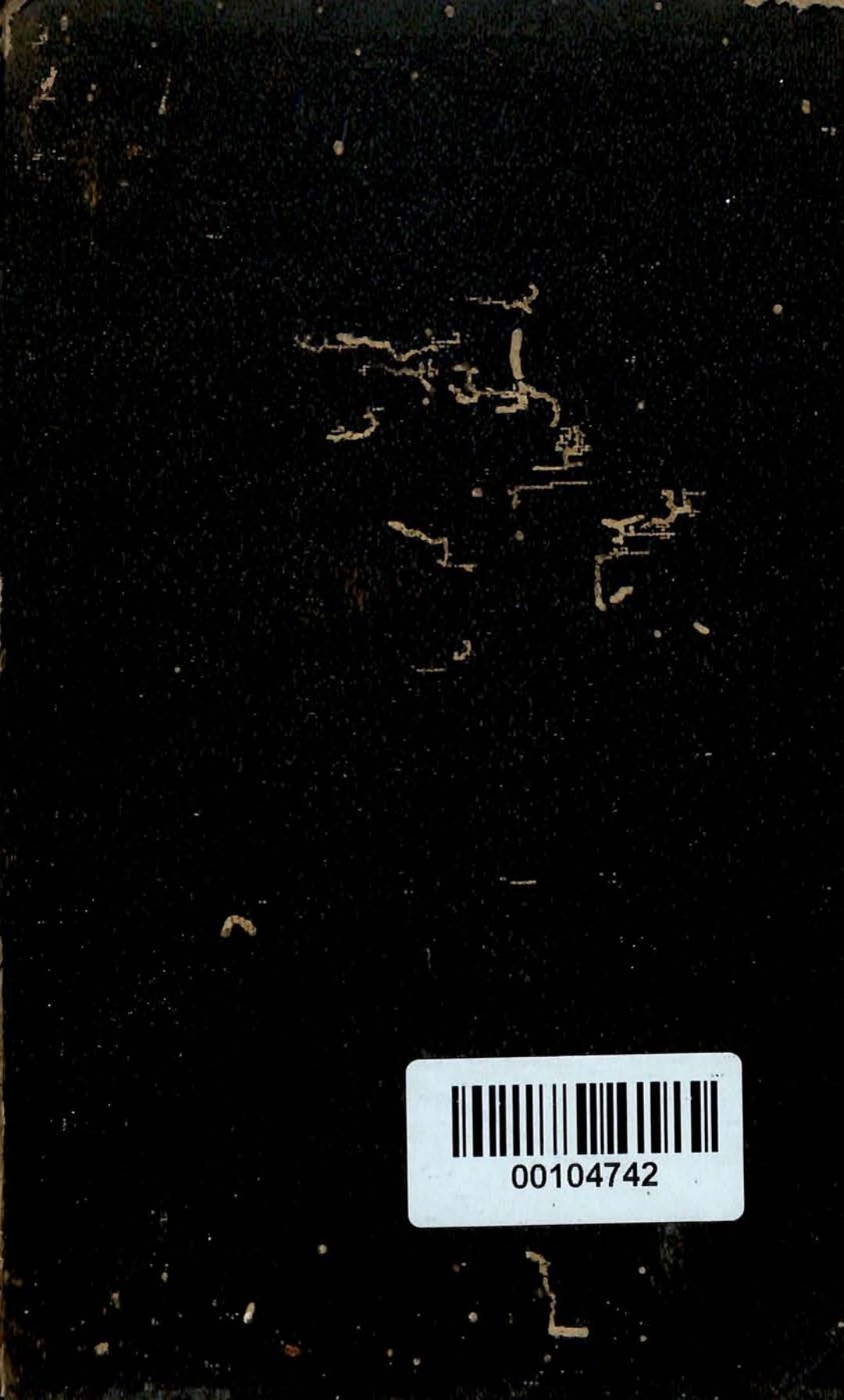
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THE

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES,

IN WHICH MUCH OF THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE GREEKS IS UNFOLDED FROM A THEORY WHICH HAS BEEN FOR MANY AGES UNKNOWN.

ILLUSTRATED

WITH MAPS AND VIEWS.

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A NEW EDITION,

WITH CONSIDERABLE AUGMENTATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

Victa jacet PIETAS.——
OVID.

LONDON:

RICHARD PRIESTLEY, HIGH HOLBORN.

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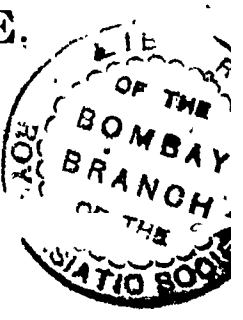
THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

GREECE.



BOOK IX.

BŒOTICS.

CHAPTER I.

BŒOTIA borders on the Athenians, and the rest of the Attic land: and the Platæènses are near the Eleutherenses. But the whole nation of the Bœotians derived its name from Bœotus, who they say was the son of Itonus, and the nymph Melanippe. They add, that Itonus was the son of Amphictyon. Many of their towns too are denominated from men, but a still greater number from women. The Platæènses indeed were, as it appears to me, natives of Bœotia from the first; but they are of opinion that they derived their name from Platæa, the daughter of a river. It is, however, evident that the Platæenses reigned here in ancient times. For all Greece formerly was in subjection to royal authority, and there was no such thing as a democracy to be found among them. But the Platæenses do not know any thing of their kings except Asopus, and Cithæron who was prior to Asopus: and they say that one of these gave a name to a mountain, and the other to a river. It appears too to me that Platæa, from whom the city was denominated, was

the daughter of king Asopus, and not of a river. Before the battle which the Athenians fought at Marathon, the Platæenses performed nothing which deserves to be recorded. But in this battle they assisted the Athenians; and after the irruption of Xerxes into Greece, had the boldness to ascend their ships with the Athenians, and punished in their own dominions Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who commanded the army of Xerxes. It happened, however, that the Platæenses were twice driven from Bœotia, and again restored to it. For in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, the Lacedæmonians besieged and took Platææ; and when it was restored through the peace which Antalcidas, a Spartan, made between the Greeks and the king of the Persians, and the Platæenses that had fled to Athens returned to their native country, it was again afflicted with the calamities of war. For at the time when open war was proclaimed against the Thebans, but the Platæenses asserted that they were at peace with them, because when Cadmea was taken by the Lacedæmonians, they neither assisted their counsels nor operations; the Thebans, on the contrary, asserted that it was the Lacedæmonians who made the peace, and who afterwards acting contrary to the truce, caused it to be violated by the other cities that had engaged in it.

The Platæenses, therefore, suspecting the intentions of the Thebans, strongly fortified their city; and those that lived at some distance from the city did not venture into the fields at all hours of the day; but knowing that the Thebans were accustomed to protract their public assemblies for a long time, they watched the time of their assembling together, and, whenever this happened, cultivated their land in peace. But Neocles the Theban, who was then the chief magistrate of the Bœotians, perceiving the crafty conduct of the Platæenses, ordered each of the Thebans to come into the assembly armed, and immediately led them, not in a direct

line from Thebes through the fields, but to Hysia, which is between the Eleutherans and Attica, and where the Platæenses had no spies. This took place about the middle of the day: and the Platæenses, supposing that the Thebans were engaged in their assembly, came into their fields as usual, having the gates of the city securely closed behind them. The Thebans therefore made the Platæenses that were within the walls promise, that they would leave the city before sun-set; each man bringing with him one, and each woman two garments. At that time, indeed, the Platæenses were oppressed in a manner very different from that which took place formerly through the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Archidamus: for then when they were besieged they were prevented from leaving the city by a twofold wall; but here the Thebans would not suffer them to enter into their walls. This second loss happened to the Platæenses, in the third year prior to the battle at Leuctra, and when Asteus was the Athenian archon. Every part of the city at this time was destroyed by the Thebans, except the temples of the gods. But the manner in which the city was taken became the safety of the Platæenses. For they were, in the first place, received by the Athenians; and afterwards Philip being victorious at Chæronea, placed a guard over the Thebans, endeavoured by every possible means to accomplish their destruction, and at last restored the Platæenses to their ancient habitations.

CHAPTER II.

On turning a little to the right hand from the straight road of the Platæan land under Cithæron, you will see the ruins of Hysia and Erythræ. These were once cities of the Bœotians; and even now among the ruins of Hysia there is a temple of

Apollo, the half of which is entire, and a sacred well. According to the Bœotians, formerly those that drank out of this well were endowed with the gift of prophecy. Proceeding from hence into the public road, you will again see, on the right hand, that which is called the sepulchre of Mardonius. Indeed that the dead body of Mardonius could nowhere be found after the battle in which he fell is generally acknowledged; nor can they tell by whom he was buried. It appears, however, that Artontes, the son of Mardonius, gave great gifts to Dionysophanes the Ephesian, and to others belonging to the Ionians, that they might not be negligent with respect to the interment of Mardonius. And this road leads from Eleutheræ to Platæa. But as you proceed from Megaræ, you will see on the right hand a fountain, and a little beyond this a stone, which they call the stone of Actæon: for they say that Actæon used to sleep on this, when he was weary with hunting; and that in this place he saw Diana washing herself in the neighbouring fountain. But Stesichorus Himeræus writes, that Diana threw upon Actæon a stag's hide, and thus caused him to be slain by his dogs, that he might not marry Semele. For my own part, I can easily believe that Actæon might be torn in pieces by his dogs, without the interference of the goddess, in consequence of their rushing furiously upon him, without perceiving who he was.

In what part of Cithæron the destruction of Pentheus the son of Echion happened, or where Oedipus when he was born was exposed, is not known by any one; though I am not ignorant of the bisected road belonging to the Phocenses, in which Oedipus slew his father. But the mountain Cithæron is sacred to Jupiter Cithæronius, of which I shall speak more copiously when my discourse leads me to mention it again. Near the entrance to Platæa, you may perceive the sepulchres of those that fought against the Medes. The other Greeks indeed have one common sepulchre; but the Lacedæmonians

and Athenians that fell in that battle have separate tombs; and upon them there are elegies composed by Simonides. Not far from the common sepulchre of the Greeks, there is an altar of Jupiter Eleutherius. The sepulchre is made of brass; but the altar and statue of Jupiter are of white stone. Even at present, every fifth year, they celebrate the festivals called Eleutheria, in which the greatest rewards are proposed for the race. They run before the altar armed. The trophy which the Greeks erected for their victory over the Platæenses is about fifteen stadia distant from the city. When you enter the city; in that part which contains the altar and statue of Eleutherian Jupiter, you will see the heroic monument of Platæa. What the Platæenses report concerning her, I have already related. The Platæenses too have a temple of Juno which deserves to be inspected, both for its magnitude, and the ornament of the statues which it contains. On entering this temple, you will see a statue of Rhea presenting Saturn with a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, instead of the child of which she had been delivered. They call Juno, *Telcia*, or *the perfect*. There is a large statue of the goddess in an upright position: both these statues are made of Pentelican stone, and are the works of Praxiteles. There is another statue of Juno in a sitting posture in the same temple; and this was made by Callimachus. But they call the goddess *Numpheuomene*, or *espoused*, on the following account.

CHAPTER III.

They say, that Juno being angry with Jupiter, on what account it is not known, retired to Eubœa; and Jupiter not being able to appease her, came to Cithæron, who then reigned over the Platæenses. This Cithæron was not second to any one in craft. He therefore persuaded Jupiter to

make a statue of wood, to place it veiled in a car drawn by two oxen, and publicly assert that this was Platæa, the daughter of Asopus, whom he was going to marry. As soon as Juno heard this, she immediately came to the car, and, cutting off the veil, perceived that what she supposed was a new married lady was nothing more than a wooden image; and in consequence of this became reconciled to Jupiter. In remembrance of this reconciliation, they celebrate a festival which is called Dædal, because the ancients called wooden statues Dædalian. But it appears to me that this name was usurped, before Dædalus the son of Palamaon was born; and that afterwards, from Dædalian statues Dædalus derived his name. The Platæenses therefore celebrate this Dædal festival, every seventh year, as an historian of this country told me: in reality, however, the interval of time between its celebration is not so long. But though I was desirous of accurately numbering the interval of time from one Dædal festival to another, I was not able to accomplish my design. They celebrate this festival in the following manner:—There is a grove, which is the greatest in Bœotia, not far from Alalcomenæ; and in this place there are many ancient oaks. The Platæenses coming into this grove, place in it portions of boiled flesh. And they have but little trouble indeed to defend it from other birds, but they are obliged to guard it diligently from the crows; and if any one of these birds carries off any portion of the flesh, they observe on what tree it perches, cut down this tree, and make from it a Dædalian statue: for they call the statue thus made Dædalian.

This festival the Platæenses celebrate privately, and call it the lesser Dædala: for the Bœotians celebrate the greater Dædala in a very public manner, every sixtieth year. They say that the festival was omitted for so long a time when the Platæenses were driven from their native country. And in the lesser Dædala, indeed, they prepare fourteen statues

every year; and these the Platæenses, Coronæi, Thespienses, Tanagræi, Chæronenses, Orchomenii, Lebadenses, and Thebans, take away by lot. For these people thought proper to be reconciled with the Platæenses, to partake of their common assembly, and to send a victim to the Dædal festival, when Thebes was restored by Cassander the son of Antipater. But those cities which are of less estimation bestow their gifts upon this festival according to lot. They carry the image to Asopus, and, having placed it in a car, commit it to the care of a bride-maid. After this, too, according to lots, they drive their cars from the river to the top of the Theban Cithæron. On the summit of this mountain an altar is prepared for them; and this altar is raised in the following manner:—They aptly join together square pieces of wood, just as if they were raising a structure of stones; and afterwards carry to the top of the mountain twigs piled on these pieces of wood. But the cities sacrifice a cow of a proper age to Juno, and a bull to Jupiter, the victims being filled with wine and odoriferous herbs; and at the same time place the Dædala upon the altar. More wealthy individuals sacrifice a cow and an ox; but the poorer sort sacrifice small sheep. They burn all the victims in a similar manner, and the altar is, at the same time, burnt with them. I know that this flame is prodigious, and may be seen at a great distance. Beyond the summit of the mountain upon which they raise the altar, after you have descended about fifteen stadia, you will see the cavern of the nymphs called Cithæronides. This cavern they denominate *Sphregidion*: and they say that formerly the nymphs used to prophesy in this cavern.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Platæenses too have a temple of Minerva *Areia*, or *the martial*, which was raised from the spoils given to the Platæenses by the Athenians after the battle at Marathon. The statue of the goddess is made of wood, and is gilt, except the face, and the extremities of the hands and feet, which are of Pentelican stone. Its magnitude is nearly equal to that brazen statue of Minerva which the Athenians dedicated in their tower from the Marathonian spoils. Phidias too made this statue of Minerva for the Platæenses. In the temple there are pictures painted by Polygnotus, viz. Ulysses destroying the suitors; and the expedition, prior to this, of Onatas to the Argive Thebes. These pictures are in the vestibule of the walls. At the foot of the goddess there is a statue of Arimnestus, who was the general of the Platæenses in the engagement against Mardonius; and, prior to this, in the battle at Marathon. Among the Platæenses too there is a temple of Ceres Eleusinia, and a sepulchre of Leitus. This Leitus was the only one of all the Bœotian commanders that returned home from the Trojan war. But Mardonius, and the horse which he commanded, corrupted the fountain Gargaphia, because the army of the Greeks which stood opposite to them drank the water of this fountain. Afterwards, however, the water was purified by the Platæenses. As you proceed from Platæa to Thebes, you will see the river Peroe. They say that Peroe was the daughter of Asopus. But before you pass over the Asopus, on turning by the side of the river to the lower parts of the country, and travelling to the distance of about forty stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Scolus. Among these ruins there is an imperfect temple of Ceres

and Proserpine, with half statues of the goddesses. Even now the Asopus separates the land of the Platæenses from that of the Thebans.

CHAPTER V.

They say that the first inhabitants of Thebes were the Ectenæ, whose king was Ogygus, a native of the place; and from whom many of the poets call Thebes Ogygiæ. They add, that these people were destroyed by a pestilence; and that the Hyantes and Aones, who, as it appears to me, were Bœotians and not foreigners, inhabited Thebes after the Ectenæ. But Cadmus and the army of the Phœnicians attacking these places, the Hyantes were vanquished, and fled the following night. Cadmus however suffered the Aones, who implored his protection, to remain, and mingle themselves with the Phœnicians. The Aones therefore fixed their habitations in different towns; but Cadmus built the city, which is even at present called Cadmea. The city, however, being afterwards increased, Cadmea became the tower of the lower Thebes. The marriage of Cadmus was certainly very illustrious, if, according to the assertion of the Greeks, he married Harmony, the daughter of Venus and Mars. His daughters too were renowned; for Semele was pregnant from Jupiter, and Ino was made one of the divinities of the sea. But during the reign of Cadmus, the Spartans, Cthonios, Hyperenor, Pelorus, and Udæus, were very powerful through his means. For Cadmus thought proper to make Echion his son-in-law, on account of his valour: and with respect to these men, as I cannot gain any farther intelligence about them, I must assent to the fable, which says, that they were called Spartans, from the manner in which they were produced. After the migration of

Cadmus to the Illyrians, and Encheleæ, a people of Illyria, his son Polydore reigned. Pentheus the son of Echion was powerful both through the dignity of his origin, and the friendship of the king; but as he was an insolent and impious man, he was punished by Bacchus for his impious behaviour towards him. Labdacus was the son of Polydore; and Polydore on his death-bed delivered up Labdacus and his kingdom to Nycteus. Other particulars belonging to this affair I have related in my description of Sicyonia; I mean, after what manner Nycteus died, and how the guardianship of his son was committed to Lycus the brother of Nycteus, and all the power of the Thebans.

Lycus indeed delivered up the reins of government to Labdacus when he was of age; but Labdacus dying not long after this, Lycus took Laius the son of Labdacus into his protection. And while he was again acting the part of a guardian, Amphion and Zethus collecting together an army, invaded the country; and those who were careful lest the race of Cadmus should become extinct, secretly conveyed Laius away. The sons of Antiope, however, vanquished Lycus in battle, and taking possession of the kingdom, joined the lower city with Cadmea, and called the whole Thebes, on account of their alliance with the nymph Thebe, the daughter of Prometheus. Homer, in the following verses in the Odyssey, confirms the truth of this account:

> Though bold in open field, they yet surround
> The town with walls, and mound inject on mound;
> Here ramparts stood, there towers rose high in air,
> And there through seven wide portals rush'd the war.

However, he makes no mention of Amphion raising the walls by the harmony of his lyre. But Amphion obtained his reputation in music, in consequence of having learnt from the Lydians, through his alliance to Tantalus, the Lydian harmony, and inventing three chords in addition to the four which had been already discovered. The author,

however, of the verses upon Europa says, that Amphion first learned the use of the lyre from Mercury, and that he drew along stones and wild beasts by his harmony. But Myron the Byzantian, who wrote heroic verses and elegies, says, that Amphion was the first that raised an altar to Mercury; and that for this he received a lyre from the god. It is also said that Amphion is punished in Hades for reviling Latona and her sons. This punishment of Amphion is mentioned in the poem called Minyas, and which is composed in common upon Amphion and Thamyris.

But after the house of Amphion was destroyed by pestilence, and Zethus had fallen a victim to grief, in consequence of his wife having slain his son for a certain offence, then the Thebans gave up the government to Laius. And Laius, during his reign, married Jocasta. He received too an oracle from Delphos, which told him that if he had a son by Jocasta, that son would be the means of his death. In consequence of this he exposed Oedipus as soon as he was born; and Oedipus, as soon as he arrived at manhood, slew his father, and married his mother. But that Oedipus had no children by his mother is evident from the following verses of Homer in the Odyssey:

> There too Jocasta of a beauteous mien
> I saw, the famed incestuous Theban queen;
> With her own son she join'd in nuptial bands,
> Though father's blood imbrued his murd'rous hands:
> The gods and men the dire offence detest;
> The gods with all their furies rend his breast.

For how could the report of his wickedness be immediately abolished, if he had four children by Jocasta? These children indeed were the offspring of Euryganea the daughter of Hyperphas: and this is evinced by the author of the verses called Oedipodia. Onasias painted for the Platæenses Euryganea, with a sorrowful countenance, on account of the battle between her sons. But Polynices, while Oedipus

was yet alive and reigned, left Thebes, fearing lest the imprecations of his father should be accomplished. In consequence of this he came to Argos, and married the daughter of Adrastus; but after the death of Oedipus, returned through the persuasions of his brother Eteocles to Thebes. Here, however, a disagreement arising between him and his brother, he was again exiled. After this he requested of Adrastus to furnish him with an army against his brother. This Adrastus complied with: but Polynices lost his army; and the two brothers engaging each other in a single combat, were both slain.

Laodamas the son of Eteocles reigned after his father: but till he was of age the government of the kingdom, and the care of his education was committed to Creon the son of Menoeceus. When Laodamas, therefore, was of a proper age, and took upon him the royal authority, the Argives led a second army against Thebes. The Thebans met this army at Glissas, and when they came to an engagement, Laodamas slew Ægialeus the son of Adrastus. But the Argives being victorious in this engagement, Laodamas, with the Thebans that followed him, fled on the following night to the Illyrians; and the Argives delivered up Thebes, which they had taken, to Thersander the son of Polynices. As a great part, however, of the forces which Agamemnon led against Troy wandered during their voyage from their destined course, and were shipwrecked about Mysia, it happened that Thersander, who in valour surpassed most of the Greeks in that war, was slain by Telephus. But the sepulchre of Thersander is in the plains of Caicus, in the city Elæa. This sepulchre is of stone, and is in that part of the forum which is in the open air; in which place, as they say, the inhabitants perform funeral sacrifices in honour of him. After the death of Thersander, a second fleet being fitted out against Paris and the Trojans, the command of it was given to Peneleus: for Tisamenus

the son of Thersander was not yet old enough for this purpose. But Peneleus being slain by Eurypylus the son of Telephus, they chose Tisamenus for their king, who was the son of Thersander and Demonassa the daughter of Amphiaraus. This Tisamenus was free from the imprecations of Laius and Oedipus; but Autesion the son of Tisamenus did not escape them, but was compelled on this account, in compliance with an oracle, to migrate to the Dorienses. After the departure of Autesion, Damasichthon, the grandson of Peneleus the son of Opheltes, was chosen king. Ptolemy was the son of this Damasichthon, and Xanthus of Ptolemy, I mean that Xanthus whom Andropompus slew in a single combat, by stratagem, and not in a lawful manner. Afterwards it appeared better to the Thebans to be governed by many, and not to commit the administration of affairs to one man alone.

CHAPTER VI.

With respect to the prosperous or adverse events of their wars, I have found the following to be the most remarkable particulars. They were vanquished by the Athenians in that battle, in which they assisted the Platæenses, who fought for the boundaries of their land. They were a second time too vanquished at Platæa by the same Athenians, in consequence of seeming to prefer the friendship of Xerxes to that of the Greeks. The common people, however, were not culpable in this particular; for at that time an oligarchy was established among the Thebans, and not that form of administration which was natural to their country. If, therefore, the sons of Pisistratus had then tyrannized over the Athenians, there can be no doubt but that the Athenians themselves would have been attached to the Persians, and on this account would have been culpable as well as the

Thebans. Afterwards, however, the Athenians were vanquished by the Thebans at Delius, in the country of the Tanagræans; and Hippocrates the son of Ariphron who commanded the Athenian army was slain, together with a great part of his forces. But the Lacedæmonians, immediately after the departure of the Mede, were upon friendly terms with the Thebans, till the Peloponnesians warred on the Athenians. This war however being finished, and the fleet of the Athenians dissolved, the Thebans not long after, together with the Corinthians, took up arms against the Lacedæmonians; but being vanquished in a battle about Corinth, and in Chæronea, they afterwards obtained at Leuctra a victory the most illustrious of all the Grecian victories we are acquainted with. Here they put an end to the *Decadarchs*, or *governors of companies, consisting each of ten men*, which the Lacedæmonians had established in their cities, and to those prefects which they call *Harmostai*. After this, they carried on for ten years the Phocic war, which is called by the Greeks, *Sacred*. But I have already shown in my account of the Attic affairs, that the slaughter at Chæronea was the source of calamity to all Greece: and it was eminently afflictive to the Thebans. For they were obliged to place a guard within the walls of their city; which, however, after the death of Philip, and during the reign of Alexander, they drove out of their city. But, for this action, divinity gave them tokens of approaching destruction. For, during the time of the battle at Leuctra, the spiders in the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros wove white webs about the doors; but when Alexander and the Macedonians attacked their dominions, their webs were found to be black. It is also said, that divinity rained ashes on the Attic land, in the year prior to that in which Sylla led an army against the Athenians, and by this means caused them to suffer in such an eminent degree.

CHAPTER VII.

The Thebans, therefore, being then driven from their country by Alexander, fled to Athens, and were afterwards restored to it by Cassander the son of Antipater. Indeed the Athenians assisted the Thebans with the greatest alacrity in restoring Thebes to its pristine state; and they were joined in this by the Messenians and Megalopolitans. But it appears to me that Cassander rebuilt Thebes, principally through his hatred of Alexander: for he endeavoured totally to destroy all his house. Thus he delivered up Olympias the mother of Alexander to be stoned to death, by those Macedonians who violently hated her, and destroyed by poison Hercules the son of Alexander by Barsina, and Alexander his son by Roxana. He did not, however, depart rejoicing from the present life; for he was seized with a dropsy, through which he was devoured by vermin. Of his sons, too, the eldest, Philip, not long after he began his reign, was attacked with a tabid disease. Antipater who succeeded him slew his mother Thessalonice, who was the daughter of Philip the son of Amyntas by Nicasipolis. His reason for committing this parricide was her extreme fondness of Alexander, the youngest of Antipater's sons. Alexander, however, calling to his assistance Demetrius the son of Antigonus, slew Antipater, and thus revenged the murder of his mother.

Some god, therefore, deservedly punished Cassander for his guilty conduct. However, all the ancient inclosure of Thebes was restored to the Thebans by Cassander. But it was requisite, that they should afterwards taste of the greatest evils. For when Mithidrates warred on the Romans, the Thebans assisted him in this war, for no other

reason, as it appears to me, than their friendship to the Athenians. But when Sylla led his army into Bœotia, the Thebans were terrified, and, immediately changing their intentions, joined themselves to the Romans. Sylla, however, did not lay aside his anger against them, but invented other things destructive to their prosperity, and laid a fine on half their land; for which conduct this was his pretext: When the war against Mithridrates commenced, Sylla was in great want of money. Hence, he collected together the sacred offerings from Olympia and Epidarus; and from the temple of the Delphic Apollo, all that was left by the Phocenses. This treasure he distributed among his soldiers. But to the gods, instead of the riches which he had taken from them, he gave the half of the Theban land. The Romans, however, afterwards restored to the Thebans the land which had been taken from them. But in other respects they were reduced by Sylla to a very calamitous condition. And even at present the lower city is entirely desolate, except the temples of the gods: but the Thebans dwell in their tower, which is no longer called Cadmea.

CHAPTER VIII.

When you have passed over the Asopus, and have proceeded to about the distance of ten stadia from the city, you will arrive at the ruins of Potniæ, among which there is a grove of Ceres and Proserpine. The statues near the river are called by the inhabitants the goddesses Potniæ. At stated times they perform other established ceremonies in honour of these, and send sucking pigs into buildings which they call Megara. These pigs, they say, are seen at Dodona in the summer of the following year: which report may perhaps be credited by some. There is here too a

temple of Bacchus *Aigobolas*, or *the piercer of goats*. For it once happened, that while the inhabitants of this place were sacrificing, they became so outrageous through intoxication, that they slew the priest of Bacchus. As a punishment for this action, they were afflicted with a pestilent disease; and at the same time were ordered by the Delphic Oracle to sacrifice to Bacchus a boy in the flower of his youth. However, not many years after this, they say, that the god changed the sacrifice of a boy for that of a goat. Among the Potniæ, too, there is a well; and they report that the horses which are natives of Potniæ become mad by drinking this water. As you go from hence to Thebes, you will see on the right hand of the road an inclosure, not very large, and in it certain pillars. They are of opinion that the earth opened in this place to Amphiaraus; and they say, that birds will not sit on these pillars, nor grass grow, nor any tame or savage animal feed in this place.

But the Thebans, in the inclosure of their ancient wall have seven gates, which remain even at present. I have heard that one of these gates was called Electra, from Electra, the sister of Cadmus, and another Prœtæ, from Prœtus, a native of this place. I have not, however, been able to find at what time this Prœtus lived. They call the third gate Neita, because Amphion is said to have invented that chord in a lyre called *Nete*, before these gates. I have also heard, that the son of Zethus, the brother of Amphion, was called Neis; and that from him this gate was denominated Neida. They denominate the gate Crenæ from a fountain; but the gate Hypiste, from its proximity to the temple of Jupiter *the highest*. Besides these gates there is another gate which is called Ogygia; and the last gate is denominated Omolois. It appears to me, that this last name is the most recent of all, and Ogygia the most ancient. They say, too, that the gate Omolois was thus denominated on the following account: When the Thebans were van-

quished by the Argives near Glisas, many of them fled, together with Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. Of these, one part was unwilling to take refuge among the Illyrians, but turning towards the Thessalians, took up their residence in Omoloe, which is the most fertile and well-watered mountain of all that Thessaly contains. Afterwards, being recalled to their native country by Thersander the son of Polynices, they called the gate through which they entered into the city, Omolois, from the mountain Omoloe. But as you come from Platæa, you will enter Thebes through the gate called Electra. They say that Capaneus the son of Hipponous was struck with lightning at this gate, as he was attacking the walls with more vehemence than usual.

CHAPTER IX.

This war, indeed, which the Argives waged, deserves, in my opinion, to be celebrated beyond all the wars of the Greeks, during the heroic ages, as they are called. For the war of the Eleusinians against the other Athenians, and in like manner of the Thebans against the Minyæ, almost after one engagement, terminated in concord, and treaties of peace. But the army of the Argives came into the middle of Bœotia, from the middle of Peleponnesus; and Adrastus collected together his allied forces from Arcadia, and from the Messenians. In a similar manner, mercenary troops were sent to the Thebans from the Phocenses, and by the Phlegyians from Minyas. An engagement therefore taking place near Ismenus, the Thebans were vanquished, and fled within their walls. But as the Peloponnesians were unacquainted with the art of besieging cities, and attacked the walls of Thebes more under the influence of anger than the direction of science, the Thebans slew many of them

from their walls, and afterwards leaving their city, by a sudden incursion broke the enemy's ranks, and cut to pieces the whole army except Adrastus. This victory however cost the Thebans dear: and hence, victories obtained with a great loss are called Cadmean victories. Not many years after this, those whom the Greeks call *Epigonoi*, or *such as are of posterior origin*, with Thersander for their leader, warred on Thebes. But it is evident, that not only the Argives, Messenians, and Arcadians, joined themselves to their standards, but that the Corinthians and Megarenses came to their assistance. The Thebans however were assisted by the cities bordering on Thebes; and a sharp engagement took place between the two armies near Glisas. Of the Thebans, many after they were vanquished fled with Laodamas, and the rest fortified themselves in their city. And this is the war which is celebrated in verse. Calænus, making mention of these verses, says that they were composed by Homer; and many celebrated persons are of the same opinion. Indeed, I consider these verses as next in excellence to the Iliad and Odyssey. And thus much concerning the war, which the Argives and Thebans waged for the sake of the sons of Œdipus.

CHAPTER X.

Not far from the gates there is a common sepulchre of those who fell in the engagement against Alexander and the Macedonians. Near it they show a place, in which they say (if it may be believed) the teeth of the dragon which was slain by Cadmus by the fountain were sown, and became men. There is a hill on the right hand of the gates, which is sacred to Apollo; and both the hill and the god are called Ismenios, from the river Ismenus flowing

near this place. The first stone statues which present themselves to the view on entering the city, are those of Minerva and Mercury, whom they call *Pronaoi*, or *belonging to vestibules*. That of Mercury was made by Phidias, and that of Minerva by Scopas. After this there is a temple, which contains a statue equal in magnitude to that of the Branchidæ, and in no respect different in its form. Whoever sees one of these statues, and knows whom it was made by, will, on beholding the other, perceive, without any great skill, that its artificer was Canachus. This statue, however, belonging to the Branchidæ is made of brass, but this of Apollo Ismenios of cedar. In the same place too there is a stone, upon which, they say, Manto the daughter of Tiresias sat. This stone is placed before the vestibule of the temple, and is called at present *the seat of Manto*.

On the right hand of the temple there are stone statues, which they say are images of Henioche and Pyrrha the daughters of Creon, who reigned while he was the guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles. I know, too, that at present the Thebans choose as the annual priest of Apollo Ismenios, a boy illustrious for his origin, and of great beauty and strength. This boy is called *Daphnophoros*, because *he is crowned with laurel*. But I am not certain whether all the boys that are crowned with laurel dedicate a brazen tripod to Apollo. It appears to me, that all are not obliged to do this by law; for I did not see many tripods dedicated here. The wealthier sort of these boys however dedicate tripods: and among these, that which Amphitryon dedicated, with Hercules on it crowned with laurel, is the most illustrious, both for its antiquity and the renown of the person by whom it was sent as an offering. Beyond this temple of Ismenian Apollo you will see a fountain, which they say is sacred to Mars: and they add, that a dragon is stationed here by Mars as the guardian of the fountain. Near this is the tomb of Caanthus, who they say was the

brother of Melia, and the son of Ocean; and who was sent by his father to seek his sister that was forcibly taken away. But when he found that she was in the power of Apollo, and that in consequence of this he was not able to take her away, he had the boldness to set on fire the grove of Apollo, which they call Ismenion; and for this action, as the Thebans say, the god slew him with his arrows. They say, too, that Apollo had two sons by Melia, Tenerus and Ismenius; and that Apollo endowed Tenerus with a prophetic power, but the river was denominated from Ismenius. However, prior to the birth of Ismenius this river was called Ladon.

CHAPTER XI.

On the left hand of the gate which is called Electra, are the ruins of a house which they say was inhabited by Amphitryon when he fled from Tiryntha, on account of the death of Electryon. The bedchamber of Alcmene is yet to be seen among these ruins. They say, that this bedchamber was built for Amphitryon by Trophonius and Agamedes; and that the following epigram was once inscribed on it: Amphitryon, when he designed to marry Alcmene, chose this for his bedchamber, which was made by Ancasius, Trophonius, and Agamedes. The Thebans, too, show the sepulchre of the children of Hercules by Megara: but the particulars which they relate concerning their death, do not in any respect correspond with those given by Stesichorus Himereus and Panyasis in their poems. The Thebans farther add, that Hercules, through his insanity, would have slain Amphitryon himself, but that before he could accomplish this he fell asleep through the blow of a stone; and that this stone was thrown by Minerva, whom they call *Sophronister*, or *the restrainer*. In this

place too there are images of women on a pillar, whose form is obscured through age. These images the Thebans call *Pharmakides*, or *witches;* and they say, that they were sent by Juno in order to prevent Alcmene from being delivered. However, Istoris the daughter of Tiresias deceived them while they were acting in this manner by Alcmene; by the following means: from a place whence she could easily be heard by the witches, she cried out with a loud voice, that Alcmene was delivered; and in consequence of their being deceived in this manner, Alcmene was in reality delivered.

There is a temple here of Hercules with a stone statue, which they call *Promachos*, or *the defender:* and this was made by the Thebans, Xenocratus and Eubius. But the Thebans are of opinion, that the ancient wooden statue in this place was made by Dædalus: and it appears to me, that this was really the case. They say that Dædalus dedicated this statue on account of the benevolent interposition of divinity in his favour. For when he had constructed for himself and his son Icarus a small ship, and had discovered the use of sails, which were unknown before, so that he was able, in consequence of being driven by a prosperous wind, to outstrip the vessel of Minos, he himself escaped in safety: but they say that Icarus, being unskilled in the art of piloting the ship, overturned it, and was by this means swallowed up by the waves, and driven to an island of Pergamus, the name of which is at present unknown. They add, that Hercules met with the dead body, and, knowing it, buried it, where even now there is a heap of earth not very large, in the promontory which extends to the Ægean sea. But the island and the sea about it were denominated from Icarus. In the roof of this temple Praxiteles carved for the Thebans many of the twelve labours of Hercules. What he has omitted, are the birds called Stymphalides, and the purification of the Elean land:

and instead of these he has represented the wrestling of Hercules with Antæus. But Thrasybulus the son of Lycus, and those Athenians who together with him dissolved the oppressive government of the thirty tyrants (for they descended from Thebes for this purpose), dedicated in the temple of Hercules colossal statues of Minerva and Hercules, of Pentelican stone, and made by Alcamenes. A gymnasium and stadium too of Hercules are contiguous to this temple. But above the stone Sophronister there is an altar of Apollo, who is called *Spondios:* and this altar is raised from the ashes of victims. Divination from omens is here established; which I know the Smyrnæans use beyond all the Greeks. For in the outward inclosure of their walls they have a temple, raised for the purpose of receiving omens.

CHAPTER XII.

The Thebans too, in ancient times, sacrificed bulls to Apollo *Polios*, or *the hoary*. But it once happened in this festival, that when the time for slaying the victim was at hand, and those that were sent for the bull did not come as they were expected, the sacrificers met with a car drawn by two oxen, one of which they sacrificed to the god; and from this circumstance they afterwards thought proper to sacrifice labouring oxen. The following circumstance likewise is related by the Thebans: When Cadmus came from the Delphi to Phocis, he followed an ox as his guide. This ox was bought of the herdsmen of Pelagos, and had on each of its sides a white spot resembling the full moon. It was necessary, therefore, that Cadmus and his army, by the command of an oracle, should fix their residence in that place in which the ox when weary laid itself down to rest. This place the Thebans exhibit even now; and in it there is an altar, in the

open air, of Minerva, and a statue, which they say were dedicated by Cadmus. Hence their opinion, who assert that the Cadmus who came to Thebes was an Egyptian, and not a Phœnician, may be confuted by the very name given to this statue of Minerva: for this goddess is called Siga in the Phœnician, and not Sais, as in the Egyptian tongue.

The Thebans too farther report, that where the forum of the tower now stands, the house of Cadmus formerly stood. Hence, they show the ruins of the bedchambers of Harmonia and Semele, into which last, even at present, men are not permitted to enter. According to the Greeks, the Muses celebrated the nuptials of Harmonia with songs: and there is a place in the forum here, where they say the goddesses sang. It is also said, that together with the thunder which descended into the chamber of Semele, a piece of wood fell from heaven, which Polydorus adorned with brass, and called Cadmean Bacchus. Near this there is a statue of Bacchus, which Onassimedes made entirely of brass; for the statue of Cadmus was made by the sons of Praxiteles. Here too there is a statue of Pronomus the piper, who allured many by his harmony. Before his time there were different pipes, for the Dorian, Lydian, and Phrygian measures; *but he first invented pipes adapted to every kind of harmony, and was the first that played all the different measures at once on one pipe.* It is also said, that he wonderfully delighted the spectators in the theatres, by the gesticulations of his face, and the motion of his whole body. His songs are yet extant which he composed for the Chalcidenses by the Euripus, in honour of Delos. The Thebans therefore have here placed a statue of this Pronomus, and of Epaminondas, the son of Polymnis.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ancestors indeed of Epaminondas were very illustrious; but his father, with respect to possessions, was but of the middle rank among the Thebans. However, he took care to have his son accurately instructed in all the disciplines belonging to his country: and Epaminondas himself, when he was but a youth, betook himself to Lysis the Tarentine, who was skilled in the doctrine of Pythagoras the Samian. But in the war which the Lacedæmonians waged with the Mantinenses, Epaminondas is said to have been sent with other Thebans to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. In this battle he saved Pelopidas, who, through a great wound which he received, was on the very brink of destruction; and afterwards being sent as an ambassador to Sparta, when the Lacedæmonians decreed to establish that peace which was called the peace of Antalcidas, Agesilaus asked him whether the Thebans had suffered the Bœotians in their respective cities to swear to the peace. To this interrogation Epaminondas replied, By no means, O Spartan, till we find that the cities which border on your dominions have sworn. But as soon as the war between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans commenced, and the Lacedæmonians, trusting both to their own power and that of their allies, pressed very much on the Thebans, Epaminondas with a part of the Theban army fixed his camps above the marsh Cephissis, as he perceived that in this part the Peloponnesians were disposed to make an attack. Cleombrotus, however, king of the Lacedæmonians, turned his forces to Ambryssus in the land of the Phocenses; and having slain Chæreas who guarded the passages in these parts, he penetrated as far as to Leuctra in Bœotia. But in this place divinity gave

certain portentous signs in common to Cleombrotus and the Lacedæmonians. For it was usual with the Spartan kings, when they marched to battle, to take along with them sheep, that they might sacrifice to the gods before the engagement began. The leaders of these sheep were goats, which the shepherds call *Catoiadai*, or *leaders of the flock*. At that time, therefore, certain wolves rushed on the shepherd, and slew the goats that were the leaders of the flock, but did not in any respect injure the sheep.

It is also said, that the wrath of divinity was enkindled against the Lacedæmonians, through the daughters of Scedasus. For when Scedasus dwelt about Leuctra, he had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo. These, when they were in the flower of their age, were ravished by the Lacedæmonians, Farathemidas, Phrudarchidas, and Parthenius. The virgins, indignantly bearing this injurious treatment, strangled themselves to death. And Scedasus when he came to Lacedæmon, and could obtain no recompense from the Spartans, slew himself. But then Epaminondas performed funeral rites to Scedasus and his daughters, and solemnly declared, that he took up arms, not more for the safety of the Thebans, than for the sake of revenging the injuries which they had sustained. The opinion, however, of some of the Bœotian commanders on this subject did not correspond with that of Epaminondas: for though Malgis and Xenocrates were of opinion, that war should be denounced against the Lacedæmonians with all possible celerity, yet Damoclidas, Damophilus, and Simangelus thought this was by no means proper; but exhorted the Thebans to send away their wives and children to Attica, and prepare themselves for a siege. And after this manner six of them varied in opinion. But when the seventh of the Bœotian chiefs, who guarded the passages at Cithæron, and whose name was Branchyllides, voted in favour of the opinion of Epaminondas, the Thebans determined to try the fortune of war.

However, several of the Bœotians were suspected by Epaminondas, particularly the Thespians. Fearing therefore some treachery might ensue, he permitted all that were willing to leave the camps, and return home: and in consequence of this permission, the Thespians, and the other Bœotians, that were not attached to the interests of the Thebans, departed from the army. But as soon as an engagement took place, the allies of the Lacedæmonians, who previous to this were disaffected towards them, now openly declared their hatred: for they were unwilling to remain in their places, and turned their backs when attacked by the enemy. The battle however between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans was equal; for the former were incited by their pristine skill in warlike affairs, and the fear of destroying the dignity of Sparta; but the latter by the danger which they saw hung over their country, wives and children. But when, in the end, many principal persons among the Lacedæmonians and king Cleombrotus himself fell, necessity compelled the Lacedæmonians, though in such calamitous circumstances, to maintain their ground; for it appeared to them to be a most shameful circumstance, to leave the dead body of their king in the power of the enemy. Indeed the Thebans gained in this battle the most illustrious victory which one Grecian nation ever obtained over another. On the following day the Lacedæmonians sent heralds to the Thebans, and desired they might be permitted to bury their dead. Epaminondas, however, who knew that the Lacedæmonians always concealed their calamities, answered, that he would first of all permit their allies to take away their dead, and then the Lacedæmonians to bury their own people. As some of the allies, therefore, had not any dead to take away, and others had but a few, the Spartans were obliged to confess that the greatest loss was of their own people. In this engagement, of the Thebans and such Bœotians as remained, no more than forty-seven fell; but of the Lacedæmonians above a thousand.

CHAPTER XIV.

After this battle Epaminondas permitted the rest of the Peloponnesians to return home, but kept the Lacedæmonians shut up at Leuctra. But when he heard that the Spartans collected themselves together from all their cities in order to assist their own people at Leuctra, he suffered them to depart on certain conditions, asserting that it was much better to transfer the war from Bœotia to Lacedæmonia. The Thespians, because they suspected the Thebans on account of their ancient hatred towards them, and their present good fortune, thought proper to leave their city, and fly to Ceressus. This Ceressus is a fortified town belonging to the Thespians, into which they formerly betook themselves when they were attacked by the Thessalians. But at that time the Thessalians, being frustrated in their attempts to take Ceressus, sent to Delphos in order to consult the god, and received the following oracle: "Shady Leuctra and the Alesian soil are the objects of my care. My attention likewise is directed to the sorrowful daughters of Scedasus. For on their account a lamentable war will arise. Nor shall any man survive to relate it, till the Dores shall lose a beautiful young virgin, when her fatal hour is arrived: for then, but not otherwise, Ceressus may be taken." Epaminondas, therefore, having taken Ceressus, and the Thespians who had fled thither for refuge being expelled, turned his attention to the affairs of Peloponnesus, the Arcadians with great alacrity calling upon him for this purpose.

On his first arrival therefore among the Peloponnesians, he voluntarily joined himself to the Argives, as his associates in war; brought back the Mantinenses to their ancient

city, who were dispersed in towns about Agesipolis; and persuaded the Arcadians to destroy their small towns, which, as they were unfortified, might easily be taken, and to assemble together in one city which he built for them, and which is even at present called Megalopolis. When the time of his command too was expired, and which to continue any longer was a capital offence, he despised the law by which this custom was established, as being then unseasonable, retained his command, and marched with an army to Sparta: but finding that Agesilaus was not willing to come to an engagement, he turned his attention to the restoration of Messene. Hence, Epaminondas was the restorer of those Messenians that exist at present; the particulars of which affair I have related in my Messenics. In the mean time, the Theban allies dispersing themselves over the Laconic land, greatly injured it by their depredations; and this induced Epaminondas to lead back his army to Bœotia. When therefore he drew near to Lechæus, and was about to pass through the difficult and narrow defiles, Iphicrates the son of Timotheus met him with troops armed with shields like a half moon, and with the other forces of the Athenians, which he led against the Thebans. These Epaminondas attacked, and put to flight; and pursuing them as far as to the walls of Athens, when he found that Iphicrates would not suffer the Athenians to fight, led back his army to Thebes. Here he was tried for continuing his Bœotian government after the expiration of the limited time; but not one of the judges would pass sentence upon him.

CHAPTER XV.

Afterwards, when Alexander who reigned in Thessaly imprisoned Pelopidas (who came to him relying on his

private benevolence, and on the friendship of the Thebans in common), that he might punish his perfidy and insolence, the Thebans immediately marched an army against Alexander, and chose Cleomenes for the leader of this expedition; at the same time subjecting the Bœotian governor, who at that time presided over the army, to his command. Epaminondas upon this occasion was stationed among the common soldiers. The army having arrived at the narrow defiles of the Thermopylæ, was unexpectedly attacked by Alexander in those parts most difficult of access; and in consequence of this, the forces despairing of success chose Epaminondas for their general, with the free consent of the Bœotian præfects. Alexander, therefore, perceiving that the command was transferred to Epaminondas, had not the boldness to come to an engagement, and voluntarily dismissed Pelopidas. But during the absence of Epaminondas, the Thebans drove the Orchomenians from their country. This violence Epaminondas bore indignantly, and said that the Thebans would not have dared to act in this manner if he had been present.

In the mean time, as no other Bœotian governor was chosen, Epaminondas led his army again to Peloponnesus, and vanquished the Lacedæmonians near Lechæus; and together with them the Pellenenses from among the Achaians, and of the Athenians, those which had been led by Chabrias. It was an established custom among the Thebans to take a ransom for their prisoners, except such as were Bœotians; for these they condemned to death. But Epaminondas having taken a small city of the Sicyonians called Phœbia, and which contained the greatest part of the Bœotian exiles, enfranchised them on their paying down a certain sum of money; at the same time calling them by the names of different countries, just as they came into his mind. However, when he came to Mantinea with his army, and was then victorious, he was slain by an Athenian: and among

the Athenians in a picture of an equestrian battle, a man is represented slaying Epaminondas, and the writing under him shows that he is Gryllus the son of Xenophon. This was the Xenophon that attended Cyrus in his expedition against Artaxerxes, and who led the Greeks back again to the sea. On the statue of Epaminondas elegies are inscribed, which assert, among other things, that Messene was restored by him, and that he gave liberty to the Greeks. These elegies are as follow:

> Our counsels Sparta's glory have destroy'd.
> Through these, Messene shall in time receive
> Offspring august. Through these, with Theban arms
> Environ'd, Megalopolis is crown'd,
> And its own laws Greece unrestrain'd enjoys.

And such are the particulars respecting the renown of Epaminondas.

CHAPTER XVI.

Not far from this statue of Epaminondas there is a temple of Ammon. The statue in this temple was made by Calamis, and dedicated by Pindar, who also sent hymns in honour of Ammon to the Ammonians in Libya. At present there is a hymn composed by Pindar, inscribed on a triangular pillar, near the altar which Ptolemy the son of Lagus dedicated to Ammon. After this temple the Thebans have a building which is called *the divining tower* of Tiresias: and near it there is a temple of Fortune. The statue of the goddess in this temple holds an infant Plutus: and the Thebans say, that the hands and face of this statue were made by the Athenian Xenophon, but the other parts by Callistonicus a Theban. It certainly was a sagacious device to place Plutus in the hands of Fortune, as if she was his mother or nurse. Nor was the sagacity of Cephisodotus

less, who made for the Athenians Peace holding Plutus. The Thebans too have wooden statues of Venus so ancient, that they are said to have been dedicated by Harmonia. These were made from the beaks of the ships of Cadmus. One of these they call *Celestial* Venus, the second *Popular*, and the third *Apostrophia*.

Harmonia gave these names to Venus; the epithet *Celestial*, signifying pure love, and that which is liberated from the desire of body; the epithet *Popular*, alluding to venereal congress; and *Apostrophia*, signifying that this goddess turns the race of men from unlawful desire and impious coition. For Harmonia knew, that many impious actions both among the Barbarians and Greeks were committed through intemperate desire; such as afterwards were celebrated in verse, of the mother of Adonis, of Phædra the daughter of Minos, and of the Thracian Tereus. But they say that the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros was once the house of Cadmus and his posterity. The statue, of Ceres in this temple is only apparent as far as to the breast. Brazen shields are fixed in this place, which they say belonged to the Lacedæmonian noblemen that fell in the battle at Leuctra. Near the gates called Proetæ there is a theatre: and very near the theatre there is a temple of Lysian Bacchus. For when formerly the Thracians led away many captives from the Thebans, Bacchus freed them from their bonds, when they came near the borders of the Haliartians, and enabled them to slay the Thracians when oppressed with sleep. The Thebans, too, say that the other statue which is in this temple is the statue of Semele. Once every year, on stated days, they open this temple. Here likewise there are ruins of the house of Lycus, and a sepulchre of Semele; for it is not the sepulchre of Alcmene; as, according to report, she was changed after her death into a stone. For the Thebans do not give the same account of her as the Megarenses. The Greeks, too, in other re-

lations differ very much from each other. The Thebans have besides, in this place, monuments of the children of Amphion, the male being apart from the female offspring.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEAR these is the temple of Diana *Eucleia*, or *the renowned:* and the statue of the goddess in it was made by Scopas. They say that the daughters of Antipœnus, Androclea and Alcida, are buried in this temple. For when the Thebans led by Hercules were about to engage with the Orchomenians, they were told by an oracle, that the army would be victorious out of which a citizen of the most illustrious birth should destroy himself. Antipœnus, therefore, was the chief of all his fellow citizens with respect to the splendor of his origin; but he could not be persuaded to kill himself for the good of his country. His daughters, however, cheerfully devoted themselves for the accomplishment of this end: and for this they were publicly honoured. Before this temple of Diana Eucleia there is a lion of stone, which they say was dedicated by Hercules after he had vanquished the Orchomenians, and their king Erginus the son of Clymenus. Near this temple there is a statue of Boedromian Apollo, and a statue of Judicial Mercury, which was dedicated by Pindar. The funeral pile of the children of Amphion is about half a stadium distant from their sepulchres. The ashes yet remain upon this funeral pile. Near the statue, too, of Amphitryon there are two stone statues of Minerva, who is called Zosteria. For Amphitryon is said to have armed himself in this place, when he was on the point of engaging with the Eubœenses and Chalcodon. But to put on armour was called by the ancients *begirding*. For when Homer makes the zone of Aga-

memnon similar to that of Mars, they say, that he means by this word the apparatus of his armour.

There is a common sepulchre here of Zethus and Amphion, which is not large, and is nothing more than a heap of earth. The inhabitants of Tithorea among the Phocenses are desirous of carrying away earth from this tomb, and this when the sun is in Taurus. For then, if they add the earth taken away from this tomb to the sepulchre of Antiope, their own land becomes more prolific, but the contrary happens to that of the Thebans. And on this account the Thebans at that time carefully guard the sepulchre. But these cities are persuaded that this will be the case from the oracles of Bacis; for the following lines are found among these oracles: "When the Tithorenses shall offer libations, prayers, and atonements to Amphion and Zethus, a bull being heated by the illustrious power of the sun, then beware of a malady of no trifling nature, which shall infest the city. For the fruits in the land shall perish, if you suffer any of your earth to be taken away, and placed on the sepulchre of Phocus." But Bacis calls it the monument of Phocus, because Dirce the wife of Lycus honoured Bacchus above all the divinities; and when she suffered that dire punishment from Amphion and Zethus, Bacchus was indignant with Antiope; and, as the punishments of the gods are always transcendent, afflicted her with madness, and by this means caused her to wander over all Greece. Phocus, however, the son of Ornytion, and the grandson of Sisyphus, freed her from her insanity, and married her: and on this account a sepulchre was built in common for Antiope and Phocus. The rude stones which are scattered about the tomb of Amphion, are said to be the very stones which followed the harmony of his lyre. It is also said of Orpheus, that wild beasts followed him when he played on his harp.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THERE is a road from Thebes to Chalcis, near the gates called Proetæ. In the public part of this road there is a sepulchre of Melanippus, who was the most excellent warrior of all the Thebans, and who, when the Argives besieged Thebes, slew Tydeus, and Mecisteus the brother of Adrastus: but he himself is said to have been slain by Amphiaraus. There are three rude stones near this sepulchre. But those that relate the antiquities of the Thebans say that Tydeus is interred here, and that he was buried by Mæon. In proof of this they cite the following verse from the Iliad:

"Tydeus, who buried lies in Theban earth."

After this are the sepulchres of the children of Oedipus. I have not, indeed, beheld the sacred rites which are performed in honour of these, but I can credit the reports of those that have seen them. For the Thebans say, that they perform funeral sacrifices to others that are called heroes, and to the children of Oedipus; and that while they are sacrificing to these, both the flame, and the smoke produced by the flame, become divided into two parts. I am induced to believe that this account is true, from what I have seen elsewhere. For in Mysia above Caicus there is a small city which is called Pioniæ. They say that this city was built by Pionis, who was one of the posterity of Hercules. While they are celebrating his funeral rites, a smoke rises spontaneously from the sepulchre: and of this I have been a spectator. The Thebans too exhibit the sepulchre of Tiresias, which is at the distance of about twenty stadia from the sepulchre of the sons of Oedipus. But they acknowledge that Tiresias died in Haliartia: they likewise own that the sepulchre

which they show of him is merely honorary. The Thebans too have a tomb of Hector the son of Priam, near the fountain which is called Oedipodia. For they say that his bones were brought hither from Troy, in consequence of the following oracle: "Thebans, who inhabit the city of Cadmus, if you wish to reside in your country, blest with the possession of blameless wealth, bring the bones of Hector the son of Priam into your dominions from Asia, and reverence the hero agreeably to the mandate of Jupiter." But the fountain Oedipodia was thus denominated, because Oedipus washed off in it the blood occasioned by the murder of his father. Near this fountain is the sepulchre of Asphodicus, who, according to the Thebans, slew Parthenopæus the son of Talaus in an engagement with the Argives. For the verses in the Thebaid, respecting the death of Parthenopæus, assert that he was slain by Periclymenus.

CHAPTER XIX.

In this same public road, too, there is a place called Teumessus, where they say Europa was concealed by Jupiter. It is likewise said of the Teumessian fox, that it was nourished by Bacchus for the purpose of destroying the Thebans; and that when it was on the point of being taken by that dog which Diana gave to Procris the daughter of Erechtheus, both the dog and the fox were changed into stones. There is also a temple of Minerva Telchinia in Teumessus; but it has not a statue of the goddess. It may be conjectured, that the goddess was thus denominated from the Telchinians, who formerly dwelt in Cyprus; for it is probable that a part of them, when they came among the Bœotians, dedicated this temple of Minerva Telchinia. On proceeding from Teumessus, on the left hand, and to the distance of about

seven stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Glisas. Opposite to these there is a sepulchre of earth not very large, which can hardly be seen by reason of the trees which surround it, some of which are wild, and others have been raised by art. Those that followed Ægialeus, the son of Adrastus, to the Theban war, the Argive nobles, and among them Promachus, the son of Parthenopæus, are buried here. But that there is a sepulchre of Ægialeus in Pagæ, I have before evinced in my account of the Megarensian affairs. On proceeding in a straight line from Thebes to Glisas, you will see a place surrounded with chosen stones, which the Thebans call the head of the serpent. They say that a certain serpent raised its head in this place out of a cavern, and that Tiresias, who happened to come hither at that time, slew it with his sword, which occasioned the place to be thus denominated. Above Glisas there is a mountain which is called *Supreme*; and in it there is a temple with a statue of Jupiter the Supreme. But the torrent which is in this place they call Thermodon. On turning towards Teumessus, and into the road which leads to Chalcis, you will see a sepulchre of Chalcodon, who was slain by Amphitryon in the battle between the Thebans and Eubœenses. After this you will perceive the ruins of the cities Harmas and Mycalessus. The former of these was thus denominated, according to the Tanagræans, because Amphiaraus disappeared with his chariot in this place, and not in that mentioned by the Thebans. But it is acknowledged both by the Tanagræans and Thebans, that Mycalessus was so called, because the ox which was the guide of Cadmus and his associates, in their journey to Thebes, lowed there. After what manner too Mycalessus came to be a desolate place, I have shown in my account of the Athenian affairs.

In that part of Mycalessus which borders on the sea, there is a temple of Mycalessian Ceres. They say that this is opened and shut again every night by Hercules; and that

Hercules is one of those that are called the Idæi Dactyli. The following wonderful circumstance happens here: they place before the feet of the statue of Ceres all the fruit which autumn produces: and this remains entire through the whole year. Proceeding to a little distance from that part of the Euripus which divides Eubœa from the borders of the Bœotians, and keeping to the right hand of the temple of Ceres, you will arrive at Aulis, which they say was denominated from the daughter of Ogygus. There is a temple here of Diana, which contains two stone statues: one of these holds a torch, and the other is in the attitude of one shooting an arrow. They say, that when the Greeks, in consequence of the prophecy of Chalcas, were about to sacrifice Iphigenia on the altar in this temple, the goddess caused a stag to be the victim instead of her. Even at present, too, they preserve in this temple the remains of the trunk of that plane-tree, which is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad. It is likewise said, that when the Greeks were detained at Aulis by adverse winds, the wind on a sudden blew from the desired quarter; and then each person sacrificed to Diana whatever victims came to hand, both male and female: in consequence of this it became an established custom in Aulis, to approve victims of every kind. They show a fountain here, near which a plane-tree grows; and on a hill near the tent of Agamemnon there is a brazen threshold. But palm-trees grow before the temple, the fruit of which is not perfectly sweet to the taste, like that of the palm-trees in Palæstine; but yet these dates are milder than those which are gathered in Ionia. There are not many inhabitants in Aulis; and these are all of them potters. The Tanagræi, too, and those that dwell about Mycalessus and Harma, cultivate this land.

CHAPTER XX.

In that part of the country of the Tanagræans which borders on the sea, there is a place called Delion, in which there are a temple of Diana and statues of Latona. The Tanagræans say that their city was built by Poemandrus, the son of Chæresilaus, the grandson of Iasius, and the great grandson of Eleuther, who was the son of Apollo and Æthusa, the daughter of Neptune. This Poemandrus married Tanagra, the daughter of Æolus; though Corinna in her verses says, that Tanagra was the daughter of Asopus. However, she lived to so great an age, that she was called by her neighbours *Graia*, or *the gray*, instead of Tanagra; and, in process of time, this name was given to the city, and remained so long, that it is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the Greeks:

"Thespia, *Graia*, Mycalessus broad."

In after-times, however, it recovered its pristine name. There is a monument, too, of Orion in Tanagra, and a mountain Cercyius, in which they say Mercury was born. There is likewise a place called Poloson: and here they say Atlas sat, diligently investigating subterranean and celestial affairs. And that Homer, agreeable to this, says of Atlas:

"Atlas, her sire, by whose all-piercing eye
The depths of ev'ry sea are clearly seen,
And who the lofty pillars strenuous rears,
Which every way divide the earth from heaven."

But in the temple of Bacchus there is a statue which deserves to be inspected, of Parian stone, and which was made by Calamis. The statue of Triton, however, is still more wonderful: and there is a more venerable report concerning

him, which is as follows:—The Tanagrian women, that were first initiated in the orgies of Bacchus, descended to the sea, for the sake of purifications. But while they were swimming in it, they were assaulted by Triton; and on their imploring Bacchus to defend them, the god heard their prayer, engaged with and vanquished Triton. There is another report, which is not so venerable as the former, but which is more probable; and it is this:—Whatever cattle were driven to the sea were attacked and taken away by Triton, who used likewise to seize all small vessels, till the Tanagrians placed on the shore bowls of wine. For Triton, allured by the smell of this, drank it, was overpowered by sleep, and fell headlong from a steep part of the shore. After this a Tanagrian cut off his head with an axe; and this is the reason why his statue is without a head. But they are of opinion that, because he was seen intoxicated, he was slain by Bacchus.

CHAPTER XXI.

I HAVE seen another Triton among the admirable curiosities of the Romans, but which is not so large as this of the Tanagrians. The form of the Tritons is as follows:—The hair of their head resembles the parsley which grows in marshes, both in its colour, and in the perfect similitude of one hair to another, so that you cannot distinguish any difference among them. The rest of their body is rough, with small scales, and is of the same hardness with the skin of a fish. They have the gills of a fish under their ears. Their nostrils are those of a man, but their teeth are broader than those of the human species, and are the teeth of a wild beast. Their eyes appear to me to be azure; and their hands, fingers, and nails, are of the same form with the

upper shells of shell-fish. They have fins under their breast and belly, like those of the dolphin, instead of feet. I have likewise seen the Æthiopian bull, which they call rhinoceros, because a horn projects from the extremity of its nostril, and another small one under it: but it has no horns on its head. I have seen, too, the Paeonian bulls, whose bodies are rough in every part, but particularly in the breast and chin. But the Indian camels resemble leopards in their colour. There is a wild beast called alce, which is of a species between a stag and a camel. This animal is found among the Gauls; and is the only wild beast we are acquainted with which can neither be hunted nor foreseen at a distance by the human species: but the dæmon drives these into the hands of the hunter, while he is engaged in pursuing other wild beasts. They say that it smells a man at a great distance; and, after smelling him, hides itself in chasms and profound caverns. Hunters, therefore, when they have surrounded plains or mountain thickets with their toils, so as that they are certain of catching all the animals within the circumference of their toils, catch among the rest the alce. But if it happens that this animal is not in the part in which they have fixed their toils, they are unable to take it by any stratagem whatever.

With respect to that wild beast which Ctesias, in his history of the Indians, says, is called by them *martiora*, but by the Greeks *androphagos*, or *the devourer of man*, I am persuaded that it is no other than the tiger. This animal, he says, has a triple row of teeth in one of its jaws, and stings in the extremity of its tail, with which it defends itself when attacked near, and hurls them like arrows against its enemies at a distance. For my own part, I do not believe that this account of the animal is true, but that the Indians have been induced to fabricate it, through vehement dread of this wild beast. For they are deceived with respect to its colour, because the tiger, when it is beheld in the sun,

appears to be red, and of a colour similar to that of the sun. Or this deception may have arisen from the swiftness of the beast, or from its agility in turning its body when it is not running, which is so great, that its colour, particularly if beheld at a distance, cannot be ascertained. Indeed, I am of opinion, that whoever travels to the extremities of Africa, India, or Arabia, and is desirous of finding such animals as are produced in Greece, will, in the first place, discover that some of them are wanting; and, in the next place, will find others which vary in certain particulars from those in Greece. For man is not the only animal which varies in his form in a different air, and a different land, but other animals are subject to the same variety. Thus the Libyan asps are of the same colour with those in Egypt; but in Æthiopia they are black as well as the men. Hence we ought neither to believe in every report indiscriminately, nor yet refuse our assent to the existence of other things, merely because they are rare. I have never indeed seen winged serpents; but I am persuaded there are such animals, because a Phrygian once brought into Ionia a scorpion, which had wings similar to those of a locust.

CHAPTER XXII.

In Tanagra, near the temple of Bacchus, there are three temples; one of Themis, another of Venus, and a third of Apollo; in which last both Diana and Latona are worshipped. With respect to the two temples of Mercury, one of which is called the temple of *Criophoros*, or *the bearer of the ram*, and the other of *Promachos*, or *the defender*, they say that the first of these was thus denominated, because Mercury freed them from a pestilence, by carrying a ram round the walls; and that on this account Calamis made a statue of

Mercury for the Tanagræans, carrying a ram on his shoulders. He who surpasses in beauty all the other youths carries on the festival of Mercury, a ram on his shoulders round the walls. But they say that Mercury was called Promachos, because, when the Eretrienses from Eubœa came with a fleet against the Tanagræans, this god led forth the youth to battle, and, being himself armed with a curry-comb like a young man, was the principal cause of putting the Eubœenses to flight. In the temple of Promachos the remains of a purslain-tree are dedicated, because, as they say, Mercury was educated under trees of this kind. Not far, too, from hence there is a theatre, and near it a porch is raised. In this particular indeed the Tanagræans appear to me to reverence the gods in a manner superior to the rest of the Greeks, because they are careful to build their temples separate from other edifices, in a pure place, and remote from the multitude.

In a celebrated part of the city there is a sepulchre of Corinna, who alone composed verses for the Tanagræans. In the gymnasium, too, there is a picture of her, in which her head is represented bound with a fillet, on account of her having vanquished at Thebes, Pindar, in the composing of verses. It appears to me, however, that she vanquished him by reason of the dialect which she employed, because her verses were not composed in the Doric dialect like those of Pindar, but in that dialect which the Æolians would most easily understand; and because she was the most beautiful woman, too, of her time, as may be easily inferred from her picture. Among the Tanagræans there are two kinds of cocks, the game, and those which they call *cossuphoi*, or *black birds*. The size of these cossuphoi is the same with that of the Lydian birds, but their colour resembles that of a crow. Their gills, too, and crests resemble an anemony: and they have white spots, not very large, on the extremity of their bill and tail. But in that part of Bœotia which is

on the left hand of the Euripus, there is a fountain called Messapios, and under it is the maritime city of the Bœotians, Anthedon. According to some, the city was thus denominated from the nymph Anthedon; but according to others, from Anthan the son of Neptune, by Alcyone the daughter of Atlas, because Anthan once reigned in this place. Among the Anthedonians, near the middle of their city, there is a temple of the Cabiri; and about it there is a grove of Ceres, and a temple of Proserpine. The statue of the goddess is of white stone. Before the city, too, and towards the more interior part of the country, there is a temple of Bacchus, and in it there is a statue of the god. In this place likewise there are sepulchres of Iphimedea, and the sons of Aloeus, who were slain by Apollo in Naxos, which is above Paros, both according to Homer and Pindar. The sepulchres of these too are in Anthedon. Near the sea there is a place which they call the thicket of Glaucus. This Glaucus was a fisherman, who, after eating a certain herb, became a dæmon of the sea: and that he predicts future events is both believed by others, and particularly by sailors, who relate many things every year respecting his divining power. Pindar, too, and Æschylus, relying on these reports of the Anthedonians, have celebrated Glaucus in their verses; the former indeed not relating many things of him, but the latter making him the subject of one of his dramas.

CHAPTER XXIII.

But among the Thebans, before the gate called Proetæ, there is that which is denominated the gymnasium of Iolaus: there is likewise a stadium, like that in Olympia, or that among the Laurians; for it is a heap of earth. In the same place, too, they show the heroic monument of Iolaus, who, as

the Thebans acknowledge, died in Sardinia; the Athenians and Thespienses passing over with him to that city at the same time. Having proceeded beyond the right hand part of the stadium, you will arrive at the Hippodrome, in which there is a sepulchre of Pindar. It is said of Pindar, that when he was a young man, as he was going to Thespia, being wearied with the heat, as it was noon, and in the height of summer, he fell asleep at a small distance from the public road; and that bees, as he was asleep, flew to him and wrought their honey on his lips. This circumstance first induced Pindar to compose verses. But when his reputation spread through all Greece, the Pythian deity, raised his glory to a still greater height, by ordering the Delphi to assign to Pindar an equal part of those first-fruits which were offered to Apollo. It is also said, that when he was an old man he saw in a dream Proserpine standing by him, who at the same time told him, that she alone of all the divinities was not celebrated by him in his hymns, but that when he came to her, he would compose a hymn in her praise. And indeed he died on the tenth day after this dream. But there was at Thebes a certain old woman allied to Pindar, and who was very conversant with his verses, which she used to sing. To her Pindar appeared in a dream, and sang a hymn to Proserpine: and the old woman, as soon as she was awake, committed to writing all that she had heard Pindar singing in her sleep. In this hymn, among other appellations of Pluto, he is called *Chrusenios*, or *possessing golden reins:* and it is evident that this epithet pertains to the rape of Proserpine.

From the sepulchre of Pindar there is a road which is for the most part plain to Acræphnium. They say that this city was at first a part of the Theban land; and I have found that Theban exiles afterwards fled hither, when Alexander subverted Thebes. For these, through imbecility and old age, not being able to reach the Attic land, took up

their residence in this place. This little city is situated in the mountain Ptous; and contains a temple and statue of Bacchus, which deserve to be inspected. On proceeding to about the distance of fifteen stadia from this city, you will see on the right hand a temple of Apollo Ptous. But Ptous was the son of Athamas and Themistus; and from him both Apollo and the mountain were denominated, according to the poet Asius. Before Thebes was destroyed by Alexander, there was an oracle in this temple, which was by no means fallacious. They say that an European, whose name was Mys, was once sent hither by Mardonius, for the purpose of consulting the oracle; and that the god answered his interrogations, not in the Grecian tongue, but in a Barbaric dialect. After you have passed beyond the mountain Ptous, you will arrive at Larymna, which is a maritime city of the Bœotians. They say that it was thus denominated from Larymna, the daughter of Cynus. But I shall relate who were her more remote ancestors, in my account of the Locrian affairs. Formerly Larymna belonged to the city Opus: but when the power of the Thebans became very considerable, then the inhabitants of Larymna voluntarily joined themselves to the Bœotians. There is a temple here of Bacchus; and a statue in an upright position. There is likewise a lake, whose profundity commences from its very margin: and the mountains which are above the city afford wild boars for hunters.

CHAPTER XXIV.

On proceeding from Acræphnium, in a straight line to the lake Cephissis, which is called by some Copais, you will arrive at a plain which is denominated Athamantios. They say that Athamas dwelt in this place. The river Cephissus

pours itself into this lake. This river commences from Lilæa among the Phocenses, and affords a passage for ships to Copæ, which is a small city situated near the lake, and which is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the ships. In this city there are temples of Ceres, Bacchus, and Serapis. The Bœotians, too, say, that formerly other small cities, Athenæ and Eleusis, were inhabited near this lake, which were destroyed during the winter season by the overflowing of the lake. But the fish in the lake Cephissis are in no respect different from the fish which are found in other lakes. The eels, however, which are found in it are very large and sweet. On proceeding from Copæ, on the left hand, at about the distance of twelve stadia, you will arrive at Holmones: and from Holmones, Hyettus is distant about seven stadia. These are now, as they were at first, nothing more than villages; and it appears to me that they are parts of the Orchomenian land, as well as the Athamantian plains. With respect to Hyettus, and Holmus the son of Sisyphus, I shall relate what I have heard concerning them, in my account of the Orchomenians.

But there is not any thing which deserves in the least to be inspected among the Holmonians. In Hyettus there is a temple of Hercules; and in it remedies are found for the diseased. The statue, however, of Hercules is not artificially made, but is a rude stone after the ancient manner. At about the distance of twenty stadia from Hyettus, is Crytones. They say that this small city was formerly called Cyrtone. It is built on a lofty mountain, and in it there are a temple and grove of Apollo. But in the temple there are statues in an upright position of Apollo and Diana. Cold water flows here from a rock: and near this fountain there is a temple of the Nymphs, and a small grove in which trees of every kind are planted. On proceeding from Crytones, after you have passed over the mountain, you will arrive at the town Corsea. Under this town there is a grove of planted trees,

which are for the most part scarlet oaks. A small statue of Mercury stands in that part of the grove which is in the open air. This grove, too, is about half a stadium distant from Corsea. On descending into the flat part of the country, you will see the river Platanius pouring itself into the sea. And on the right hand of this river are the extremities of the Bœotian land: and in this place there is a small city Alæ, near the sea, which divides the continent of the Locrians from Eubœa.

CHAPTER XXV.

AMONG the Thebans, near the gate Neitis, is the sepulchre of Menœceus, the son of Creon, who voluntarily slew himself, in compliance with the Delphic oracle, when Polynices came with an army from Argos. A pomegranate-tree grows near his tomb, the fruit of which, when ripe, on breaking the exterior rind, has the appearance of blood. This tree regerminates perpetually. The Thebans, too, assert that the vine first made its appearance in their country; but they have not any token to show of this at present. Not far from the sepulchre of Menoeceus, they say that the sons of Oedipus, fighting in a single combat, slew each other. As a proof of this combat, there is a pillar here, and upon it a stone shield. They show a place, too, in which they say Juno suckled Hercules, in consequence of a deception employed by Jupiter. The whole of this place is called *Surma Antigones*, or *the drawing of Antigone;* because Antigone, when she found herself unable to raise the dead body of Polynices, endeavoured to draw it along, and continued her efforts till she accomplished her design, and threw it on the funeral pile of Eteocles, which was then enkindled. After you have passed over the river which is called Dirce, from the wife of Lycus (by whom according to report Antiope

was injured, and was on that account slain by the sons of Antiope), you will see the ruins of the house of Pindar, and a temple of the mother Dindymene, which was dedicated by Pindar. The statue of the goddess was made by the Thebans Aristomedes and Socrates. On one day in every year they think proper to open this temple. I happened to be present on that day, and by this means had an opportunity of seeing the statue, which is of Pentelican stone, as well as the throne on which the goddess sits. In the road from the gate Neitis there is a temple of Themis, and in it a statue of white stone. After this there are two temples, one of the Parcæ, and the other of Judicial Jupiter. The statue of Jupiter is of stone; but there are no statues of the Parcæ. At a small distance from hence, there is a statue of Hercules in the open air, under the appellation of *Rinocolaustes*, because, in order to disgrace those ambassadors (as the Thebans say) that were sent by the Orchomenians to demand tribute, he cut off their noses.

On proceeding to the distance of twenty-five stadia from hence, you will see a grove of Cabirian Ceres and Proserpine, into which the unitiated are not permitted to enter. But who the Cabiri are, and what the ceremonies which are performed in honour of them, and the mother of the gods, I must beg those that are desirous of hearing such particulars to suffer me to pass over in silence. Nothing however hinders me from disclosing the origin of these mysteries, according to the Thebans. They say, then, that there was once a city in this place, and inhabitants, who were called Cabiri; and that Ceres deposited something with Prometheus, who was one of the Cabiri, and with his son Ætnæus, after she became acquainted with them. What this deposit was, and the circumstances which took place respecting it, piety forbids me to disclose. The mysteries therefore of the Cabiri were the gift of Ceres. But when the Epigoni led an army against Thebes, and Thebes was taken, the Cabiri being

driven from their country were not able for some time to celebrate these mysteries. Afterwards, however, they were restored by Pelarge, the daughter of Potneus, in conjunction with her husband Isthmiades. And then, indeed, Pelarge initiated persons in these mysteries beyond the ancient boundaries of the country; but Telondes, and those of the Cabiri that were restored to their native land, celebrated the mysteries in Cabiræa. By an oracle, too, given from Dodona, other honours were decreed to Pelarge; and a victim big with young was ordered to be sacrificed to her. Many instances likewise have evinced that the wrath of the Cabiri is implacable. For when certain private persons in Naupactus had the boldness to perform the ceremonies established by the Thebans, they were shortly after punished for their impiety. Such, too, of the forces of Xerxes as, together with Mardonius, pitched their camps in Bœotia, when they entered the temple of the Cabiri, either allured by the hope of gaining great riches, or (as it appears to me) through their contempt of a divine nature, became immediately insane: and some of them threw themselves into the sea, and others hurled themselves headlong from rocks. Thus again, when Alexander had vanquished the Thebans, and destroyed all Thebes by fire, such of the Macedonians as entered the temple of the Cabiri, because they were upon hostile ground, were destroyed by thunder and lightning. So holy has this temple been from the beginning.

CHAPTER XXVI.

On the right hand of the temple of the Cabiri, there is a plain which is called Tenerus, from the prophet Tenerus, who they say was the son of Apollo and Melia. Here, too, there is a large temple of Hercules, who is called Ippodotos.

For they report that the Orchomenians came to this place with an army, and that Hercules, seizing their horses in the night, bound them in such a manner to their chariots, as to prevent their being useful in the war. On proceeding from hence, you will arrive at a mountain, from whence, according to report, the Sphinx used to rush in order to destroy those that could not solve the riddles which she sang to them: though others assert that she used to drive to Anthedon with a naval force after the manner of pirates, and afterwards exercise her robberies from this mountain, till Oedipus slew her by means of a numerous army which he brought from Corinth. It is also said, that she was the bastard daughter of Laius, and that her father taught her the oracle which was given to Cadmus at Delphos, through his kindness towards her. Prior to the Theban kings, indeed, no one was acquainted with the meaning of the oracle; and these in succession unfolded it to each other. As often, therefore, as any dispute arose respecting the kingdom, the neighbouring people came to consult Sphinx. Laius, indeed, had sons by his mistresses; but they say that the meaning of the oracle given by the Pythian deity was only known to Epicaste, and the children which Laius had by her. They add, that the brothers were circumvented by the sophisms of Sphinx; and that upon her inquiring whether, if they were the sons of Laius, they knew the oracle given to Cadmus, if they answered in the negative, she condemned them to death, as not being entitled by their birth to the kingdom. Lastly, it is said that the interpretation of the oracle was given to Oedipus in a dream, who was by this means enabled to solve the riddle of Sphinx.

The ruins of the city Onchestus are about fifteen stadia distant from this mountain: and they say that Onchestus the son of Neptune once dwelt in this city. At present, indeed, a temple and statue of Onchestian Neptune remain: and there is likewise a grove here which is celebrated by

Homer. On turning from the temple of the Cabiri to the left hand, and proceeding to the distance of about fifty stadia, you will arrive at the city Thespia, which is situated under mount Helicon, and is said to have been denominated from Thespia the daughter of Asopus. According to some, Thespius, when he left Athens, gave this name to the city; and they say that he was the son of Erechtheus. Among the Thespians, there is even at present a brazen statue of Jupiter the Saviour. They report, that the city being once infested with a dragon, Jupiter ordered them to expose every year to the savage animal certain young men chosen by lot; and that the names of those that perished, except one, sunk into oblivion. The name of this one was Cleostratus, who had a brazen coat of mail made for him by his lover Menestratus. This coat of mail was thick set with hooks turned upwards: and Cleostratus, armed with this, very readily went forth to meet the dragon; and was indeed himself slain, but at the same time was the destruction of the savage beast. From this circumstance Jupiter came to be called Saviour. They have besides a statue of Bacchus, another of Fortune, a third of Hygia, and a fourth of Minerva; by the side of whom there is a statue of Plutus.

CHAPTER XXVII.

But the Thespians venerated, from the first, Love beyond all the gods: and they have a most ancient statue of this divinity, which is nothing more than a rude stone. I do not however know who it was that instituted this high veneration of Love among the Thespians. The Pariani, too, who dwell about the Hellespont, and who originated from Ionia, and migrated hither from Erythræ, but at present are in subjection to the Romans, venerate this divinity no less than

the Thespians. The multitude are of opinion, that Love is the youngest of the gods, and the son of Venus. But the Lycian Olen, who composed the most ancient hymns for the Greeks, says in his hymn to Lucina, that Lucina is the mother of Love. And Pamphus and Orpheus, who flourished after Olen, have composed hymns to Love, that they might be sung by the Lycomedæ during the celebration of the mysteries. I likewise once spoke with a torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries, and through his means read these hymns of Pamphus and Orpheus, of which I shall make no farther mention. Hesiod, indeed, or at least the author of the Theogony, I well know, says, that Chaos was first *generated*, afterwards Earth, and then Tartarus and Love. But the Lesbian Sappho sings many things of Love, which by no means harmonise with each other. Lysippus afterwards made a brazen statue of Love for the Thespians; and prior to him Praxiteles made one of Pentelican stone. With respect to the stratagem which Phryne employed, in order to discover the favourite statue of Praxiteles, this I have elsewhere related. They say, that this statue of Love was first moved out of its place by the Roman emperor Caius. It was afterwards sent back to the Thespians by Claudius; and again brought to Rome by Nero, where it was destroyed by fire. Of those, however, who acted thus impiously towards this divinity, one man was slain by a soldier, whom he used to nickname in derision; and Nero acted very impiously towards his mother, and behaved with a cruelty towards his wives, which showed that he was entirely destitute of Love.

But the statue of Love, which is at present among the Thespians, was made by the Athenian Menodorus, in imitation of the manner of Praxiteles. In this place too there is a Venus and a statue of Phryne, both of stone, and the works of Praxiteles. In another part of the city there is a temple of Venus *Melainis*, or *the black*; there are besides a

theatre, and a forum, well worthy of inspection. Here likewise there is a brazen statue of Hesiod: and not far from the forum there are a brazen statue of Victory, and a temple of the Muses not very large. In this temple there are small statues of stone. The Thespians, too, have a temple of Hercules; the priestess of which retains her virginity as long as she lives. They say that this arose from the following circumstance: Hercules had connexion with all the fifty daughters of Thestius, except one, in one night: and this one, who was unwilling to be connected with him, was chosen by him as his priestess, but with this restriction, that she should remain all her life a virgin. But I have heard another account of this affair, that Hercules was connected with all the fifty daughters of Thestius in one night, that they all bore him sons, and the youngest and oldest of these daughters were each of them delivered of twins. However, for my own part, I can never be induced to believe, that Hercules could be excited to such a violent anger against the daughter of his friend. Besides, it is not probable, that he who, while he was among men, punished the insolent behaviour of others, and particularly revenged impiety towards the gods, would build a temple, and appoint a priestess for himself as if he was a god. But to me, indeed, it appears, that this temple is more ancient than the period in which Hercules the son of Amphitryon lived: and I do not know, whether the dedication of this temple ought not to be ascribed to the Hercules who is one of the Idæi Dactyli, as I have discovered that the Erythræans in Ionia, and the Tyrians have raised temples to him. Nor are the Bœotians ignorant of this name of Hercules; for they say, that the temple of Mycalessian Ceres was committed to the care of the Idæan Hercules.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE mountain Helicon excels all the mountains in Greece for the goodness of its soil, and the multitude of trees which it contains. The young shoots of purslain, too, with which it abounds, yield the sweetest fruit. The inhabitants of Helicon say, that none of the herbs or roots which are produced in this mountain are destructive to mankind. They add, that the pastures here even debilitate the venom of serpents; so that those who are frequently bit by serpents in this part escape the danger with greater ease than if they were of the nation of the Psylli, or had discovered an antidote against poison. Otherwise the venom of the fiercest of serpents is both destructive to men, and all other animals. The nature of the pastures, too, contributes in no small degree to the strength of the venom. For I once heard a Phœnician say, that in the mountainous part of Phœnicia, the roots that grow there render the vipers more fierce. The same person, too, farther added, that he saw a viper pursue a man who fled to a tree for shelter, and that the viper blew its venom against the tree to which the man had escaped, and by this means caused his death. With respect to those vipers in Arabia which take up their residence among balsam trees, I know that something very different from what I have above related happens, and this is as follows: The balsam tree is nearly of the same size as a sprig of myrtle; and its leaves are like those of the herb sweet-marjoram. Vipers take up their residence about these plants; and are in some places more numerous than in others: for the juice of the balsam tree is their sweetest food; and they are delighted with the shade produced by its leaves. When the time therefore arrives for gathering the juice of this tree, the

Arabians come into the sacred grove, each of them holding two twigs. By shaking these they put to flight the vipers: for they are unwilling to kill them, because they consider them as the sacred inhabitants of the balsam. And if it happens that any one is wounded by a viper, the wound resembles that which is made by iron, but is not attended with any dangerous consequences: for these animals being fed with the juice of the balsam-tree, which is the most odoriferous of all trees, their poison becomes changed from a deadly quality into one which produces a milder effect.

CHAPTER XXIX.

But they say, that Ephialtes and Otus consecrated this mountain to the Muses, and were the first that sacrificed to these divinities in Helicon. They likewise report that Ascra was built by these. And Hegesinous, in his poem on the Attic land, thus speaks concerning Ascra:

> With Ascra mingling once, th' earth-shaking power,
> When rolling years their rounds had run, begat
> A son named Oeclus, who Ascra built,
> Assisted by Aloeus' offspring, near
> The streams of Helicon's irriguous feet.

I never read the poetical compositions of Hegesinous; for they were not extant when I was born. But Calippus the Corinthian, in his history of the Orchomenians, cites the verses of Hegesinous in proof of what he asserts: and hence, I have taken these verses from Calippus. At present a tower remains in Ascra; but of every thing else even the remembrance has perished. The sons of Aloeus were of opinion, that there were only three Muses; and these they called *Melete*, *Mneme*, and *Aoide*, which signify *meditation*,

memory, and *singing*. But they say, that in after times, Pierus the Macedonian, from whom a mountain in Macedonia is denominated, came to Thespia, and ordered that nine Muses should be worshipped by the names which they retain at present. And this alteration was made by Pierus, either because it appeared to him to be wiser, or in consequence of some oracle, or as the result of what he had learned from the Thracians. For formerly the Thracians seem to have excelled the Macedonians in dexterity in human affairs, and not to have been so negligent as they were in divine concerns. There are those, too, who say that Pierus had nine daughters, and that he called them by the names of the Muses; and that the grandchildren of Pierus by these daughters were called by the names which the Greeks give to the offspring of the Muses. But Mimnermus, who composed elegies respecting the battle of the Smyrnæans against Gyges and the Lydians, says in the preface to this work, that the more ancient Muses are the daughters of Heaven, and that those of posterior origin are the daughters of Jupiter.

In Helicon, too, as you go to the grove of the Muses, you will see on the left hand the fountain Aganippe. They say that Aganippe was the daughter of Termessus, which flows round mount Helicon. But if you proceed to this grove in a straight line, you will see a stone image of Eupheme. This Eupheme is said to have been the nurse of the Muses. After her image there is a statue of Linus in a small stone, which is carved so as to resemble a cavern. They perform funeral sacrifices every year to this poet, before they sacrifice to the Muses. It is said that Linus was the son of Urania by Amphiaraus the son of Neptune. The renown which he acquired for his skill in music was superior not only to that of his contemporaries, but to that of all his predecessors; and he is said to have been slain by Apollo for attempting to compare his skill in singing with that of

the god. Indeed the death of Linus was lamented by every barbarous nation; and among the Egyptians there is a song which the Greeks call Linus: for this song is denominated by the Egyptians *Maneroon*. But the Greeks, and among these Homer, mention this song as Grecian. For Homer, being well acquainted with the misfortune of Linus, says that Vulcan represented, among other things, in the shield of Achilles, a boy playing on a harp, and singing the fate of Linus:

> "To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
> Whose tender lay the fate of Linus sings."

But Pamphus, who composed the most ancient hymns for the Athenians, says, that grief for the death of Linus increased to that degree, that he came to be called *Oitolinos*, or *lamentable Linus*. And afterwards the Lesbian Sappho, having learnt the name Oitolinos from the verses of Pamphus, celebrates in her poems Adonis and Oitolinos. The Thebans, too, boast that Linus was buried in their country; and they say, that after the loss of the Greeks at Chæronea, Philip the son of Amyntas, in consequence of a vision in a dream, brought the bones of Linus to Macedonia; and afterwards, from another dream, carried back the bones to Thebes. The covering however of this tomb, and every thing else belonging to it, have, they say, been obliterated through length of time. The Thebans likewise assert, that there was a junior Linus, the son of Ismenius; and that when but a boy he was slain by Hercules, whom he instructed in music. However, neither the Linus the son of Amphimarus, nor he who was the son of Ismenius, composed any thing in verse; or, if they did, it has not been transmitted to posterity.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ancient statues of all the Muses here were made by Cephisodotus. And on proceeding to no great distance from hence, you will see three Muses which were made by Cephisodotus, and after these the same number of Muses the works of Strongylion, who made oxen and horses after the best manner. The remaining three Muses were made by Olympiosthenes. In Helicon, too, there are a brazen Apollo and a Mercury contending with each other about a lyre. There is likewise a Bacchus, the work of Lysippus: for the upright statue of Bacchus, which was dedicated by Sylla, was made by Myron, and except his statue of Erechtheus, deserves to be inspected beyond all his works at Athens. Sylla, however, did not dedicate this statue out of his own possessions, but took it from the Orchomenian Minyæ. And this is what the Greeks call venerating a divine nature with foreign fumigations. Here too you may see the statues of poets and illustrious musicians. Among these there are Thamyris, now blind, and handling a broken lyre; and the Methymnæan Arion sitting on a dolphin. But he who made the statue of the Argive Sacadas, from not understanding the exordium of Pindar's verses upon him, has made this piper not greater as to the length of his body than his pipes. Hesiod, too, sits here holding a harp on his knees, though this was not his usual attitude; for it is evident from his poems, that he used to sing near a twig of laurel. With respect to the age of Hesiod and Homer, though I have made the most diligent and accurate inquiry, it is not agreeable to me to give my opinion on this subject, as I know that it has occasioned great disputes among men of former times, and that there is no small contention about it among

poets of the present day. There is a statue here, too, of the Thracian Orpheus, with *Telete*, or *mystic sacrifice*, standing by his side. He is represented singing, and is surrounded by wild beasts fashioned from brass and stone, who are listening to his song. The Greeks, indeed, believe many things which are by no means true, and this among the rest, that Orpheus was the son of the Muse Calliope, and not of that Calliope who was the daughter of Pierus; that he allured wild beasts by the melody of his lyre; and that he descended to Hades while alive, for the purpose of requesting the infernal gods to restore him back his wife. But it appears to me, that Orpheus surpassed all the poets that were prior to him in the elegance of his compositions, and that he acquired great authority in consequence of the general opinion, that he invented the mysteries of the gods, purifications for impious actions, remedies for diseases, and the methods of appeasing the wrath of divinity.

They report, too, concerning him, that the Thracian women endeavoured to take away his life by stratagem, because he persuaded their husbands to attend him in his wanderings, but that they had not the boldness to put this design in execution through fear of their husbands: at length, however, by drinking largely of wine, they accomplished this daring project. Hence, they say, it came to be established by law, that men should be led to battle intoxicated. There are others again who say, that Orpheus was killed by lightning, on account of having taught things in the mysteries which men were unacquainted with before. It is likewise reported of Orpheus, that after the death of his wife, he came in consequence of it to Aornus in Thesprótia, because there was an ancient oracle there of departed spirits; that when he came here he expected the soul of Eurydice would follow him; but that finding himself disappointed, he slew himself through grief. The Thracians add, that the nightingales, which build their nests about the sepulchre of

Orpheus, sing sweeter and louder than other nightingales. But the Macedonians, who inhabit the country under the Pierian mountain, and the city Dios, say that Orpheus was slain in that place by women. On proceeding from Dios to the mountain, at about the distance of twenty stadia, you will see a pillar on the right hand, and upon it a stone urn, which, according to the inhabitants of this place, contains the bones of Orpheus. The river Helicon flows through this part of the country, and at the distance of eighty-five stadia hides itself in the earth. Afterwards having concealed itself for about twenty-two stadia, it again rises, and, assuming the name of Baphyræ instead of Helicon, becomes a navigable river, and pours itself into the sea. The Diatæ say, that this river at first ran in an open channel; but that when the women who slew Orpheus attempted to wash themselves from his blood in it, then it sunk into the earth, that its water might not be the means of purifying them from his murder.

I have likewise heard a different report from this in Larissa: that formerly there was a city in Olympus called Libethra, and which stood in that part of the mountain which is turned towards Macedonia: that the sepulchre of Orpheus is not far from hence; and that an oracle of Bacchus was transmitted to the Libethrians from Thrace, informing them that their city would be destroyed by *Sus* whenever the sun should behold the bones of Orpheus. The Libethrians, however, did not pay much attention to the oracle, because they did not believe that there could be any wild beast sufficiently large and strong to destroy their city; and as to the boar, they were persuaded that its boldness was superior to its strength. However, when it seemed fit to divinity, the following circumstances took place: A shepherd about mid-day, being weary, laid himself down by the tomb of Orpheus, and in his sleep began to sing the verses of that poet with a loud and sweet voice. The neigh-

bouring shepherds, therefore, and husbandmen, allured by this harmony, left their employments, and gathered themselves round the sleeping shepherd. But it so happened, from their pushing against, and striving to outstrip each other in getting near the shepherd, that they overturned the pillar, broke the urn which contained the bones of Orpheus, and by this means caused them to be seen by the sun. Afterwards, on the following night, divinity caused it to rain in abundance; and the river *Sus*, which is one of the torrents about Olympus, rushed with such impetuosity against the walls of the Libethrians, that it threw them down, together with all the temples and houses, and drowned all the men and animals that were in the city. The Libethrians, therefore, becoming extinct, the Macedonians that dwelt in Dios (as a Larissæan, who was my guest, informed me) conveyed the bones of Orpheus to their own country. But those who are conversant with the writings of the poets, know with respect to the hymns of Orpheus, that each of them is very short, and that the whole of them does not amount to any considerable number. The Lycomedæ are well acquainted with them, and sing them in the mysteries of Ceres. These hymns are next to those of Homer for the elegance of their composition; but on account of their superior sanctity, they are preferred for religious purposes to those of Homer.

CHAPTER XXXI.

In Helicon, too, there is a statue of Arsinoe, whom Ptolemy married though she was his sister. A brazen ostrich supports this statue. These birds indeed have wings naturally like other birds, but through the weight and magnitude of their

bodies they are unable to raise themselves into the air. Here likewise there are a hind suckling Telephus the son of Hercules, and an ox standing near her. Besides these there is a statue of Priapus, which deserves to be inspected. This god is honoured in other places by those who take care of goats, sheep, or beehives: but the Lampsaceni venerate him beyond all the other divinities, and assert that he is the son of Bacchus and Venus. Among other tripods, too, which are dedicated in Helicon, there is a most ancient one, which they say Hesiod received in Chalcis by the Euripus, in consequence of a victory which he gained by his verses. The grove here is surrounded with inhabitants: and the Thespians celebrate a festival in this place, and games which they call *Mouseia*, or, *sacred to the Muses*. They also celebrate games in honour of Love, in which rewards are not only proposed to musicians, but likewise to the athletæ. On ascending from this grove to the distance of twenty stadia, you will see a fountain, which is called the fountain of the horse. They say, that the horse of Bellerophon made this fountain by striking the earth with his hoof. But the Bœotians that dwell about Helicon have a tradition among them, that Hesiod wrote nothing besides the poem entitled *Works and Days*; and from this they take away the introduction to the Muses, and say that the proper beginning of the poem is that part which speaks of Contentions. They showed me, too, a leaden table near the fountain, which was almost entirely rotten through age, but on which the *Works and Days* of Hesiod was written. Their opinion, however, who ascribe many works to Hesiod, is very different from this. And, according to these, he composed a poem *On Women*; *The Great Eoeæ*; *The Theogony*; *Verses on the Prophet Melampus*; *the Descent of Theseus with Pirithous to Hades*; *The Exhortation of Chiron*, viz. *relative to the instruction of Achilles*; and the poem called *Works and Days*.

The same persons, too, assert, that Hesiod was instructed in divination by the Acarnanes: and, indeed, a poem of Hesiod *On Divination* is extant, which I have read, together with *The Narrations of Prodigies*, which are at the end of it. Contrary reports likewise are circulated about the death of Hesiod. For though it is universally agreed, that the sons of Ganyctor, Ctimenus, and Antiphus, fled to Molucria from Naupactus on account of the murder of Hesiod, and that through their impiety to Neptune they were punished there, yet some are of opinion, that Hesiod was falsely accused of having ravished the sister of these young men, and others assert, that she was ravished by him. And such are the different reports which are circulated about Hesiod and his works. On the top of mount Helicon is the river Lamus, which is not large: and in the borders of the Thespians there is a place called Hedonacon, which contains the fountain of Narcissus. They say that Narcissus beheld himself in this fountain; that he did not know he was in love himself; and that he died through this love by the side of the fountain. To be in love indeed with a shadow, and not to know the difference between a man and the shadow of a man, is stupidity in the extreme. But there is another report concerning Narcissus, which is less known than the former one; and this is, that he had a twin sister, who perfectly resembled him in her whole form, that her hair and dress were similar to those of Narcissus, and that they used to go out together to hunt. That Narcissus fell in love with this sister; and that she happening to die before him, he used to come to this fountain, in which, when he saw his own shadow, without at the same time perceiving that it was his own, he found some mitigation of the torments of his love, by imagining that it was the image of his sister. It appears to me, however, that the earth produced the flower Narcissus, prior to this circumstance; and my opinion is confirmed by the verses of Pamphus. For he says, that

many years before the Thespian Narcissus, Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, was forcibly taken away by Pluto, as she was playing and gathering flowers; and that she was deceived not by violets, but by the narcissus.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THOSE that dwell in Creusis, which is a haven of the Thespians, have no public building or statue which deserves to be mentioned: but in the house of a private person in Creusis there is a statue of Bacchus, which is made of plaster, and adorned with pictures. But the passage by sea to Creusis from Peloponnesus is winding and stormy. The promontories which run into the sea, give such a curvature to the shores, that ships cannot sail in a direct line, and the winds blow violently from the neighbouring mountains. On sailing from Creusis, not upwards but near Bœotia, you will see the city Thisbe on the right hand. And in the first place there is a mountain near the sea. When you have passed beyond this you will see a plain, and after this another mountain, in the bottom part of which there is a city. In this city there is a temple of Hercules, and in it a stone statue in an upright position. They celebrate here a festival, which they call *Heracleia*. Nothing would hinder the plain which lies here between the mountains from becoming a lake, through the great quantity of water in this part, if they did not raise a strong bank through the middle of the plain, turn the water every year to places beyond the bank, and cultivate the other parts of the plain. They say that the nymph Thisbe, from whom the city is denominated, was a native of this place. On sailing from hence you will see a small city near the sea,

which is called Tipha. There is a temple of Hercules here, in which they celebrate a festival annually. The Tiphæenses assert, that they excelled from the first all the other Bœotians in the knowledge of maritime affairs, and that Tiphys, who was chosen to be the pilot of the ship Argo, was a native of their country.

Before the city, too, they show a place, to which they say the Argo drove when it returned from Colchis. On proceeding upwards from Thespia towards the continent, you will arrive at the city Haliartus. But it is not proper that I should separate from my account of the Orchomenian affairs, the particulars respecting the builder of this city and Coronea. In the Persian war, one part of the army of Xerxes laid waste with fire and sword the land and city of the Haliartians, on account of their attachment to the interest of the Greeks. But in Haliartus there is a sepulchre of Lysandra the Lacedæmonian. For when he drew near to Haliartus in order to attack its walls, as the city was defended within by an army of Athenians and Thebans, these forces leaving the city, a battle ensued, in which Lysander was slain. Indeed, Lysander appears to me to have merited, by his conduct, both the greatest praise and blame. For he gave a specimen of consummate sagacity in warlike affairs when he commanded the Peloponnesian fleet. For having attentively watched the motions of Antiochus the pilot of Alcibiades, at that time when the commander was absent, he induced him to hope that he would be able to engage in a naval battle with the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards vanquished him, trusting to his arrogance and temerity, not far from the walls of the Colophonians. Lysander, too, when he was again chosen by the Spartans to command their three-oared galleys, so mitigated the anger of Cyrus, that as often as he requested money for the use of his fleet, Cyrus seasonably and liberally supplied him with

it. And when the Athenians had one hundred vessels stationed in Ægospotamos, Lysander made them his prize, through taking advantage of the time when the sailors went on shore, in order to lay in water and fresh provisions.

He likewise exhibited the following specimen of justice: A dispute about money happened to take place, between Autolycus the pancratiast, whose image I have seen in the Prytaneum at Athens, and Eteonicus a Spartan. Here the Spartan, whose abilities in defending his cause were inferior to those of Autolycus, behaved, notwithstanding, so insolently, because the city of the Athenians was at that time in the power of the thirty tyrants, and Lysander was present, that he struck his adversary, and because Autolycus defended himself, brought him to Lysander, expecting that he would decide the affair in his favour. Lysander, however, accused Eteonicus of having acted unjustly, and dismissed him with reproaches and disgrace. These actions, therefore, raised the reputation of Lysander: but the following disgraced his character: At Ægospotamos he slew Philocles the Athenian, who was one of the commanders of the Athenian fleet, and four thousand Athenian captives besides, and would not suffer them to be buried, though the Athenians permitted the Persians that fell at Marathon, and Xerxes those Lacedæmonians that died at Thermopylæ, to be buried. Afterwards, too, a greater disgrace befel the Lacedæmonians through Lysander; and this was by his placing *Decadarchs*, or *companies of ten men*, over the cities that were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and besides these Laconic *Harmostai*, or *apt administrators of affairs*. And lastly, when the Spartans took no care to acquire wealth, and this in consequence of an oracle, which declared, that the desire of riches would be the only thing destructive to Sparta, Lysander inflamed them with a vehement desire of becoming rich. Hence, following the opinion of the

Persians, and judging according to their law, I conclude that Lysander was more hurtful than useful to the Lacedæmonians.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

But in Haliartus there is a sepulchre of Lysander, and an heroic monument of Cecrops the son of Pandion. The mountain, too, Tilphussius, and the fountain Tilphussa, are about fifty stadia distant from Haliartus. It is said by the Greeks, that when the Argives together with the sons of Polynices took Thebes, as they were leading along the prophet Tiresias, with their other spoils, to the Delphic Apollo, the prophet, being thirsty by the way, drank of the fountain Tilphussa, and immediately after expired. His sepulchre, therefore, is near this fountain. They say, too, that Manto the daughter of Tiresias was given to Apollo by the Argives; but that by order of the god she passed over in a ship to Colophon in Ionia, and there married Rhacius the Cretan. With respect to other particulars about Tiresias, such as the number of years which he lived, his being changed from a man into a woman, and what Homer asserts of him in the Odyssey, that he was the only wise person in Hades—these are known to every one. Among the Haliartians, too, there is in the open air a temple of those goddesses who are called *Praxidicai*, or, *the avengers of actions*. They swear on the altars of these goddesses, and never violate the oath which they have thus taken. This temple is near the mountain Tilphussius. But in Haliartus there are temples in which there are no statues, because the temples are without roofs. To what divinities these were dedicated I have not been able to learn. The river Lophis flows through the Haliartian land. It is said,

that this country at first was very dry, owing to its being totally destitute of water, and that one of the principal inhabitants went to Delphos to inquire by what means water might be found: that the Pythian deity answered him, that he must slay the first person he met on his return to Haliartus; and that he happening to meet first of all with Lophis the son of Parthenomenes, immediately struck the youth with his sword. That Lophis yet breathing ran round the place in which he was wounded: that wherever his blood fell on the ground there water ascended; and that from this circumstance the river was called Lophis.

Alalcomenæ is a village by no means large, and is situated at the extremities of a mountain not very lofty. They say, that this place was denominated from a native Alalcomenes, who was the nurse of Minerva. But, according to others, it was called after Alalcomenia, who was the daughter of Ogygus. At some distance from this village a temple of Minerva stands in a plain; and in it there is an ancient statue of ivory. Sylla, indeed, was guilty of many cruelties towards the Athenians, and his conduct was very different from the manners of the Romans. His behaviour, too, towards the Thebans and Orchomenians resembled his conduct towards the Athenians: and from the Alalcomenians he took away this statue of Minerva. This man, however, who so furiously captured the Grecian cities, and carried away the statues of their gods, was tormented with the most unpleasant of all diseases. For his body was covered with lice: and his former good fortune was terminated by so calamitous an end. But the temple in Alalcomenæ was neglected after this event, as being deprived of its divinity. Another circumstance, too, happened in my time, which contributed to the dissolution of the temple. A large and strong ivy, which grew by the side of the temple, destroyed the cement of the stones, and separated them from each other. A torrent not very large, which they call Triton,

flows here: and they say it was thus denominated, because Minerva was educated near the river Triton; just as if this torrent was the river Triton, and not that which, proceeding from the marsh Tritonis in Africa, pours itself into the Lybian sea.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Before you arrive at Coronea from Alalcomenæ, you will see a temple of Minerva Itonia. This name was given to the goddess by Itonus the son of Amphictyon. The Bœotians assemble together in this place in order to form a common convention. In this temple there are brazen statues of Minerva Itonia and Jupiter. These were made by Agoracritos, the disciple and lover of Phidias. Statues, too, of the Graces were dedicated here in my time. It is said that Iodamia, who officiated as priestess to the goddess, once came by night within the sacred enclosure of the temple, and that Minerva appeared to her, invested with a robe, in which there was the head of Medusa: that Iodamia, as soon as she beheld it, became a stone; and that on this account a woman places fire every day on the altar of Iodamia, and says thrice in the Bœotian tongue, that Iodamia lives, and calls for fire. The remarkable particulars which Coronea contains, are an altar of Mercury Epimelius in the forum, and an altar of the Winds. A little below these there is a temple of Juno, and in it an ancient statue, which was made by the Theban Pythodorus. This statue holds Sirens in one of its hands. For they say, that the daughters of Achelous were persuaded by Juno to contend in singing with the Muses; and that the Muses, being victorious, plucked off the wings of the Sirens, and made crowns from them. The mountain Libethrius is about forty stadia distant from Coronea. In this mountain there are statues of the Li-

bethrian Muses and Nymphs. There are likewise two fountains here, one of which they call *Libethrias*, and the other *Petra*, or *a rock*. These fountains resemble the breasts of women, and water resembling milk ascends from them. To the mountain Laphystion and the grove of Jupiter Laphystius from Coronea the distance is twenty stadia. There is a stone statue of the god in this grove: and they say, that when Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixus and Helle here, the sons of Jupiter sent a ram, whose wool was golden, upon the back of which they escaped. Above this grove there is a place called Hercules *Charops*, or *the gray-eyed*: and the Bœotians say, that Hercules ascended here, dragging up the dog of Hades.

On descending from the mountain Laphystion to the temple of Minerva Itonia, you will see the river Phalarus running into the lake Cephissis. Beyond the mountain Laphystion is Orchomenus, an illustrious and renowned Grecian city, which once arrived at the highest degree of felicity, and which was destroyed by nearly the same means as Mycene and Delos. The following particulars are handed down to us respecting its ancient affairs. They say, that Andreus the son of the river Peneus, first of all dwelt in this place, and that from him the country was denominated Andreis. That Athamas, becoming acquainted with him, gave him all the country about the mountain Laphystion, together with that region which is now called Coronea and Haliartia. But Athamas, being of opinion that he should not leave any male children behind him (because he called to mind his conduct, when insane, towards Learchus and Melicerte, Leucon had died through disease, and he was ignorant whether Phrixus was alive, or had any children), on this account he adopted Coronus and Haliartus, the sons of Thersander, who was the son of Sisyphus: for Athamas was the brother of Sisyphus. However, when Phrixus, as some say, or Presbon, according to others, who was the son

of Phrixus by the daughter of Æetes, returned from the Colchi, the sons of Thersander gave up the kingdom of Athamas to Athamas and his progeny. These, therefore, having received from Athamas a part of the land, built Haliartus and Coronea. But prior to the return of these, Evippe the daughter of Leucon was given in marriage by Athamas to Andreus: and by her he had Eteocles; though it is reported by the citizens, that Eteocles was the son of the river Cephisus. Hence, certain poets call Eteocles in their verses Cephisiades. This Eteocles, when he began to reign, suffered them to call the country from Andreus. But he instituted two tribes, one of which he ordered to be called Cephisiades, and the other after his own name Eteoclea. When Halmus, too, the son of Sisyphus, came to him, he gave him but a small part of the country for his portion: and the towns were called Halmones from Halmus. But in after times one town alone came to be called Halmones.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Bœotians, too, say that Eteocles was the first that sacrificed to the Graces. And, indeed, that he established three Graces they are well convinced; but they have lost the remembrance of the names which he gave them. For the Lacedæmonians only worship two Graces, the statues of which, they say, were dedicated by Lacedæmon the son of Taygete, who also gave them the names of Cleta and Phaenna. These names, indeed, are very properly given to the Graces, as likewise are those names which are assigned to the Graces by the Athenians. For the Athenians have from ancient times venerated the Graces, Auxo and Hegemone. And as to Carpus, it is not a name of one of the Graces, but of one of the Seasons. But the Athenians

worship the other of the Seasons, together with Pandrosus, and call this divinity *Thallote*, or *the flourishing*. Indeed, we now pray to three Graces, having learnt that there are three from the Orchomenian Eteocles. Those, too, that have made statues of Bacchus, have placed three Graces in the hands of the god, just as Angelion and Tectæus have done to the Delphic Apollo. And at Athens, in the vestibule of the tower there are three Graces, whose mysteries, which are kept secret from the multitude, are there celebrated. But Pamphus is the first we are acquainted with that celebrated the Graces in verse: but he neither mentions their number, nor their names. Homer, too, makes mention of the Graces, and says that one of these is the wife of Vulcan, and that her name is Charis. He also says, that Sleep is the lover of the Grace Pasithea: and in the speech of Sleep he has the following verse:

> "That she my loved-one shall be ever mine,
> The youngest Grace, Pasithea the divine."

Hence some have suspected that Homer knew of other more ancient Graces.

But Hesiod in the Theogony (if that work be the composition of Hesiod) says that the Graces are the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome, and that their names are Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thalia. Onomacritus, too, in his verses gives them the same names. But Antimachus neither mentions the number, nor the names of the Graces, but only says, that they are the daughters of Aigle and the Sun. Hermesianax the writer of elegies says, what no one before him ever asserted, that *Pitho*, or *persuasion*, is one of the Graces. But I have not been able to find who the first person was that either by a statue or picture represented the Graces naked. For the more ancient statues and pictures of the Graces have garments. Thus among the Smyrnæans in the temple of the Nemeses, among the other statues, there

are Graces fashioned of gold, which were made by Bupalus. And in the Odeum there is a picture of a Grace, which was painted by Apelles. Among the Pergamenians, too, in the bedchamber of Attalus, and in the temple which they call Puthion, there are Graces which were painted by the Parian Pythagoras. Besides all these, Socrates the son of Sophroniscus made a statue of the Graces for the Athenians, which is placed in the vestibule of their tower. These are all in a similar manner clothed: and I cannot tell for what reason men in after times, in their statues and pictures of the Graces, represented them naked.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

On the death of Eteocles, the kingdom came to the posterity of Halmus. The daughters of this Halmus were Chrysogenea and Chryse. It is reported, that Phlegyas was the son of Mars by Chryse. And Phlegyas reigned after Eteocles, because Eteocles did not leave any male offspring behind him. But at that time the name of the whole country was changed; so that the region which was before denominated Andreis, was then called Phlegyantis. The city, too, Andreis was inhabited from the first, to which Phlegyas added another called by his own name, and collected into it the best of all the Grecian warriors. The Phlegyans, however, in after-times, through their stupidity and boldness, separated themselves from the other Orchomenians, and led away at the same time the neighbouring people. At length, too, they turned their arms against the temple of the Delphic Apollo, in order to plunder it: and when Philammon with a chosen band of Argives came to assist the Delphi, both he and his forces fell in the engagement which ensued. That the Phlegyans, indeed, delighted

in warlike affairs beyond the rest of the Greeks, is evident from these lines of Homer in the Iliad, respecting Mars and the son of Mars, Terror:

> "From Thrace they fly, call'd to the dire alarms
> Of warring Phlegyans, and Ephyrian arms."

But, in these verses, he appears to me to call those that inhabit the Thesprotian Epirus, Ephyri. However, divinity nearly destroyed the race of the Phlegyans by continued thunder and violent earthquakes, and those that were left were destroyed by pestilence, except a few that fled to Phocis.

But Phlegyas dying without children, Chryses the son of Neptune, by Chrysogenea the daughter of Halmus, reigned after him. The son of this Chryses was Minyas; and from him, the people that he governed are even at present called Minyæ. So great was the tribute which was paid to this Minyas, that he surpassed in wealth all those that reigned before him, and was the first we are acquainted with among the Minyæ that built a treasury for the purpose of securing his riches. And there are certain Greeks, who have great knowledge in affairs of this kind, by whom these treasuries are considered as more wonderful than those which their own country contains. However, the most illustrious historians, who have given the most accurate account of the Egyptian pyramids, have not made the least mention of the treasury of Minyas, and the walls of Tiryns, though they are equally worthy of admiration. The son of this Minyas was Orchomenus: and during his reign the city was called Orchomenes, and the people were denominated Orchomenians. Yet the appellation of Minyæ still remains, for the purpose of distinguishing these people from the Orchomenians in Arcadia. Orchomenus therefore reigning, Hyettus came to him from Argos; for this Hyettus was obliged to abandon his country, on account of having murdered Molurus the son of Arisbas, whom he had detected committing adultery with

his wife. Orchomenus gave this Hyettus that part of the country which is about the village Hyettus, and the land adjoining to it. The author of the verses which the Greeks call the Great Eoeæ, makes mention of Hyettus:

> "Hyettus, when Arisbas' son he found,
> Molurus, in the chamber of his wife,
> Th' adult'rer slew, and from his country fled,
> Argos, the fertile nurse of gen'rous steeds.
> To Minyas' son Orchomenus he came:
> The exile then th' heroic prince received,
> And nobly gave him of his realms a share."

But it is evident, that this Hyettus was the first that punished adultery. For in after times Draco, among the laws which he made for the Athenians, relative to the punishment of unjust actions, enacted, that adultery should be severely punished. The name, too, of the Minyæ arrived at such a degree of dignity, that Neleus, the son of Cretheus and king of Pylus, married from Orchomenus, Aoris the daughter of Amphion the son of Hilasius.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The race however of Halmus was destined to come to an end. For Orchomenus did not leave behind him any children; and in consequence of this, the royal authority passed to Clymenus the son of Presbon, and the grandson of Phrixus. Erginus was the eldest son of this Clymenus; the next to him in age were Stratius, Arrhon, and Pyleus; but the youngest of all was Axeus. Certain Thebans, for a very trifling offence, slew Clymenus during the celebration of the festival of Onchestian Neptune, this slight offence having roused them to vehement wrath. Erginus, as being the eldest son of Clymenus, reigned after his father; and immediately as he

came to the throne, having with the assistance of his brothers collected an army, led his forces against Thebes, vanquished the Thebans, and afterwards made a treaty of peace with them, on condition that they paid him an annual sum of money as a recompense for the murder of Clymenus. But when Hercules undertook to defend the Thebans, then the Thebans were freed from this tribute, and the Minyæ suffered greatly in war. Hence Erginus, who saw that his subjects were wearied in the extreme with the continuance of the war, made a peace with Hercules; and desirous that his kingdom might recover its pristine opulence and felicity, so much neglected every thing else to accomplish this, that he arrived at extreme old age without ever having been married, or had any children. As soon, however, as he became rich, he wished to have children: and coming to Delphos in order to interrogate the god on this subject, he received the following oracle: "O Erginus, son of Clymenus, and grandson of Presbon, thou comest hither late, inquiring after an offspring, but even now add a new top to the old tail of the plough."

In conformity therefore to the admonition of the oracle, Erginus married a young woman, by whom he had Trophonius and Agamedes; though it is said that Trophonius was the son of Apollo, and not of Erginus; which, indeed, I can easily be persuaded to believe, and this must be the opinion of any one who goes to the oracle of Trophonius. They say, that these sons of Erginus, as soon as they arrived at manhood, became very skilful in building temples for the gods, and palaces for kings. For they built the temple of Apollo in Delphos, and the treasury of Hyrieus. In the wall of this treasury they placed one stone in such a manner, that they could take it out whenever they pleased; and in consequence of this, they were perpetually carrying away some part of the deposited treasure. This filled Hyrieus with astonishment, as he found that the locks and seals had

not been moved, and yet the amount of his wealth was perpetually diminished. On the vessels, therefore, in which his money was deposited, he fixed traps, or something of this kind, by which any one that attempted to touch the money might be immediately caught. Hence Agamedes, when he entered the treasury, was held fast in the snare: and Trophonius fearing lest, when it was day, his brother would be forced by torments to confess that he was his associate in the theft, cut off the head of Agamedes. After this Trophonius was swallowed up in an opening of the earth, in the grove of Lebadea, where there is a ditch, which is called after Agamedes, with a pillar raised over it. Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, who are said to have been the sons of Mars by Astyoche, the daughter of Actor, the granddaughter of Axeus, and the great grand-daughter of Clymenus, reigned over the Orchomenians. The Orchomenians were led by these two against Troy; partook of the expedition of the sons of Codrus to Ionia; and being driven from their country by the Thebans, recovered it again by the assistance of Philip the son of Amyntas. A divine power, however, always caused their affairs to verge to an imbecile condition.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Among the Orchomenians there is a temple of Bacchus, and a most ancient temple of the Graces. They venerate in a most eminent degree certain stones, which they say fell from heaven, and were taken up by Eteocles. But the adorned statues, or those which are artificially made, and which are of stone, were dedicated in my time. The Orchomenians, too, have a fountain, which deserves to be inspected; and into which they descend for the purpose of

drawing water. But the treasury of Minyas is not inferior to any of the wonderful productions of Grecian art. It is built of stone, is of a round figure, and its top does not raise itself to a very sharp point. They say that the topmost stone holds together the whole building. There are likewise sepulchres here of Minyas and Hesiod: and they say that they came to possess the bones of Hesiod, by the following means: A pestilence once raging in their country to the destruction of men and cattle, they sent certain persons, who are called *Speculators*, to the Delphic god, who gave them an oracle, signifying that they must bring the bones of Hesiod from the Naupactian to the Orchomenian land, and that this would be the only means of freeing them from their malady. But upon their again interrogating the god, in what part of the Naupactian land the bones were deposited, the Pythian deity answered them, that a crow would show them. As the messengers, therefore, were proceeding on their journey, they saw not far from the road a crow sitting on a stone; and in the hollow of this stone they found the bones of Hesiod, with the following inscription on the tomb:

> "The fertile Ascra is the native land
> Of Hesiod, but the Minyæ, skill'd to tame
> The warlike steed, his bones possess. His fame
> True wisdom's votaries, of discernment nice,
> Through all th' Argolic land have widely spread."

With respect to Actæon, a report is circulated among the Orchomenians, that their land was injured by means of a spectre, which sat on a stone; and that on their consulting the Delphic oracle about it, they were ordered by the god to bury any remains of Actæon which they might happen to find; and besides this, to make a brazen image of the spectre, and fasten it with iron to the stone. And this statue I have seen. They perform, too, every year funeral sacrifices to Actæon. The temple of Hercules, in which

there is a statue not large, is distant from Orchomenus about seven stadia. The fountains of the river Melan are in this place; and this river runs into the lake Cephissis. This lake occupies a great part of the Orchomenian land: and during the winter, through the vehement blowing of the south wind, the water spreads over a considerable part of the country. The Thebans say, that the river Cephissus was turned by Hercules into the Orchomenian plains; and that prior to this it ran into the sea, under a mountain; but that Hercules closed up the chasm. Homer indeed knew of the lake Cephissis, but he does not say that it was the work of Hercules. For thus he speaks concerning it:

"Inclining o'er the lake Cephissis"——

Nor is it probable that the chasm was not discovered by the Orchomenians, and that Hercules, by separating it, restored to the river its ancient passage, since even in the Trojan times they were in no want of money. This is evident from what Homer represents Achilles saying in answer to the ambassadors of Agamemnon:

"Not all the wealth Orchomenus receives."

It is clear from hence that the Orchomenians were supplied with great riches at that time. But, as they say, Aspledon was then deprived of inhabitants through scarcity of water. They add, that the city was denominated from Aspledon, who was the son of Neptune by the nymph Midea. This account is confirmed by the verses which they say were made by Chersias the Orchomenian:

"Aspledon, in an ample city born,
From Neptune and th' illustrious Mida sprung."

The verses, however, of this Chersias are not now extant: and the above lines are cited by Calippus in his oration on the Orchomenians. They likewise assert, that the epigram on the sepulchre of Hesiod was composed by Chersias.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE Phocenses border on the Orchomenians in that part which is near the mountains: but Lebadea borders on them in that part in which the plains are situated. This city was formerly built in the more elevated part of the country, and was called Midea from the mother of Aspledon. But when Lebadus came from Athens, and settled here, the inhabitants descended into the plains, and from him the city was called Lebadea. They neither, however, know who his father was, nor on what account he came hither. They only know that his wife was Nice. This city is adorned in every respect similar to the most flourishing cities of Greece. The grove of Trophonius is separated from it: and they say that Hercyna, playing in this place with the daughters of Ceres, unwillingly let a goose fall out of her hands, which afterwards fled into a cavern, and concealed itself under a stone: that Proserpine came into the cavern, and took the bird from under the stone: and that in the place where she had moved the stone water burst forth, which became a river, denominated from this circumstance Hercyna. Near the banks of this river there is a temple of Hercyna; and in it there is a statue of a virgin holding a goose in her hands. The fountains of the river are in the cavern, together with statues in an upright position: and dragons are rolled round the sceptres of these statues. Any one would be inclined to conjecture, that these are the statues of Æsculapius and Hygia; but they may be the statues of Trophonius and Hercyna, as they are of opinion that dragons are no less sacred to Trophonius than to Æsculapius. Near the river, too, there is a sepulchre of Arcesilaus. They say that Leitus brought the bones of Arcesilaus from Troy. But the most

remarkable particulars in the grove are a temple of Trophonius, and a statue, which may be conjectured to be that of Æsculapius. This statue was made by Praxiteles. There is also a temple here of Ceres Europa: and in the open air there is a temple of Jupiter Pluvius.

As you ascend to the place from which the oracle is given, and pass on to the anterior part of the mountain, you will see a temple of Proserpine *the huntress* and Jupiter *the king*. This temple, either through its magnitude, or through unceasing wars, was left half finished. In another temple which stands here there are statues of Saturn, Juno, and Jupiter. There is also in this place a temple of Apollo. With respect to what pertains to this oracle, when any one desires to descend into the cave of Trophonius, he must first take up his residence for a certain number of days in a building destined to this purpose. This building is a temple of *the Good Dæmon*, and of *Good Fortune*. While he stays here he purifies himself in other respects, and abstains from hot baths. The river Hercyna is used by him for a bath: and he is well supplied with animal food from the victims which are sacrificed. For he who descends hither sacrifices to Trophonius and his sons; to Apollo, Saturn, and Jupiter the king; to Juno *the chariot driver*, and to Ceres, whom they call Europa, and who they say was the nurse of Trophonius. A diviner is present to each of the sacrifices, who inspects the entrails of the victims, and while he beholds them, prophesies whether or not Trophonius will propitiously receive the person who consults him. The other victims do not in a similar manner disclose the mind of Trophonius: but each person who descends to him sacrifices, on the night in which he descends, a ram in a ditch, invoking at the same time Agamedes. They pay no regard to the former entrails, even though they should be favourable, unless the entrails of this ram are likewise auspicious. And when it happens that the entrails thus correspond in signification, then the

person that wishes to consult Trophonius, descends with good hope, and in the following manner: The sacrificers bring him by night to the river Hercyna; there they anoint him with oil; and two boys belonging to the city, each about thirteen years old, and whom they call Mercuries, wash him, and supply him with every thing necessary.

He is not immediately after this led by the sacrificers to the oracle, but is first brought to the fountains of the river, which are very near to each other. Here he is obliged to drink of that which is called the water of Lethe, that he may become oblivious of all the former objects of his pursuit. Afterwards he must drink of another water, which is called the water of *Mnemosyne*, or *memory*, that he may remember the objects which will present themselves to his view on descending into the grove. Having therefore beheld the statue, which they say was made by Dædalus (and which the priests never show to any but those who desire to consult Trophonius), performed certain religious ceremonies, and prayed, he proceeds to the oracle clothed in white linen, begirt with fillets, and having on his feet such slippers as are worn by the natives of this place. The oracle is above the grove in a mountain, and is inclosed with a wall of white stone, whose circumference is very small, and whose altitude is not more than two cubits. Two obelisks are raised on this wall, which, as well as the zones that hold them together, are of brass. Between these there are doors: and within the inclosure there is a chasm of the earth, which was not formed by nature, but was made by art, and is excavated in according proportion with consummate accuracy and skill. The shape of this chasm resembles that of an oven. Its breadth, measured diametrically, may be conjectured to be about four cubits. Its depth does not appear to me more than eight cubits. There are not steps to its bottom: but when any one designs to descend to Trophonius, they give him a ladder, which is both narrow and light. On descending

into this chasm, between its bottom and summit there is a small cavern, the breadth of which is about two spans, and its altitude appears to be about one span.

He, therefore, who descends to the bottom of this chasm lays himself down on the ground, and holding in his hand sops mingled with honey, first of all places his feet in the small cavern, then hastens to join his knees to his feet; and immediately after the rest of his body contracted to his knees, is drawn within the cavern, just as if he was hurried away by the vortex of the largest and most rapid river. But those that have descended to the adytum of this place are not all instructed in the secrets of futurity in the same manner. For one obtains this knowledge by his sight, and another by his hearing; but all return through the same opening, and walk backwards as they return. They say no one that descended here ever died in the chasm, except one of the spear-bearers of Demetrius, who would not perform any of the established religious ceremonies, and who did not come hither for the purpose of consulting divinity, but that he might enrich himself by carrying the gold and silver from the adytum. It is also said, that his dead body was thrown up by a different avenue, and not through the sacred opening. Other reports are circulated about this man, but those which I have mentioned appear to me to be the most remarkable. When the person that descended to Trophonius returns, the sacrificers immediately place him on a throne, which they call the throne of Mnemosyne, and which stands not far from the adytum. Then they ask him what he has either seen or heard, and afterwards deliver him to certain persons appointed for this purpose, who bring him to the temple of Good Fortune, and the Good Dæmon, while he is yet full of terror, and without any knowledge either of himself, or of those that are near him. Afterwards, however, he recovers the use of his reason, and laughs just the same as before. *I write this, not from hearsay, but from what I*

have seen happen to others, and from what I experienced myself, when I consulted the oracle of Trophonius. All, too, that return from Trophonius are obliged to write in a table whatever they have either heard or seen: and even at present the shield of Aristomenes remains in this place, the particulars respecting which I have already related.

CHAPTER XL.

The Bœotians became acquainted with this oracle, of which they were before entirely ignorant, by the following means: In consequence of a great want of rain for the space of two years, they sent *Speculators* from each city to Delphos. These, imploring a remedy against the drought which they laboured under, the Pythian deity ordered to go to Trophonius in Lebadea, and find relief from him. But when they came to Lebadea, and could not find the oracle, one Saon, an Acraiphnian, who was the oldest of the Speculators, happened to see a swarm of bees, and followed them to their hive. Perceiving, therefore, that they flew into this chasm of the earth, he followed them, and by this means found the oracle which he sought. They say, that this Saon was instructed by Trophonius in all the sacred ceremonies belonging to this oracle.

Of the works of Dædalus there are two among the Bœotians; a statue of Hercules, belonging to the Thebans, and of Trophonius, belonging to the Lebadenses. There are the same number of wooden statues in Crete; viz. Britomartis in Olus, and Minerva among the Gnossians. Besides these, too, they have a representation of the dance of Ariadne, which is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad; and this is made of white stone. Among the Delians, likewise, there is a wooden statue of Venus, not large, the right

hand of which is decayed through length of time; and this statue stands on a square figure instead of feet. I am persuaded that Ariadne received this statue from Dædalus, and that when she followed Theseus, she took it along with her. The Delians say, that Theseus, when Ariadne was taken from him, dedicated this wooden statue of Venus to the Delian Apollo, that he might not, by taking it home with him, be reminded of his lost wife, and by this recollection continually experience new torments of love. I do not know that any other works of Dædalus besides these remain. For those works of his which the Argives dedicated in the temple of Juno, and those which were brought to Gela in Sicily from Omphace, have all been destroyed by time. The Chæronenses are next to the Lebadenses. The city of these people was formerly called Arne: and they say that Arne was the daughter of Æolus, and that from her another city in Thessaly is denominated. They add, that the present name of the Chæronenses was derived from Chæron the son of Apollo by Thero the daughter of Phylas: and this is confirmed by the author of the poem called the Great Eoeæ, in the following verses:

> "In wedlock with Deiphile conjoin'd,
> Daughter of Iolaus the renown'd,
> And in whose person godlike beauties shone,
> Phylas, in his august abodes begat
> A son nam'd Ippotus, with Thero fair,
> In form resembling Phœbe's splendid light:
> And Thero from Apollo, Chæron bore,
> Of mighty strength, and skill'd the steed to tame."

It appears to me, too, that Homer knew that Chæronea was called Lebadea, but that he chose to denominate it by its ancient name; in the same manner as he calls the African river Ægyptus, and not Nile.

But among the Chæronienses there are two trophies, which were raised by the Romans and Sylla, when they vanquished

Taxilus and the army of Mithridates. Philip, however, the son of Amyntas, neither raised any trophy at Chæronea, nor for any victories which he gained over either Greeks or Barbarians. For it was not an established custom with the Macedonians to leave trophies as monuments of their victories. It is said, too, by the Macedonians, that Caranus, when he reigned in Macedonia, having vanquished in battle Cisseus, who governed the country bordering on the Macedonians, raised a trophy after the manner of the Argives. But they add, that a lion rushing from Olympus, threw down and destroyed the trophy. That Caranus was conscious he had not acted prudently, because by raising this trophy he had occasioned an irreconcileable enmity with his neighbours; and that afterwards neither Caranus nor any of his successors raised a trophy, that they might at some future time attract to themselves the benevolence of the neighbouring people. Alexander confirms the truth of this account, because he neither raised a trophy for his victories over Darius, nor for his conquest of the Indies. Near this city there is a common sepulchre of those Thebans that fell in the engagement against Philip. There is no inscription on the tomb, but a lion stands on it, which may be supposed to signify the great vehemence of these men in fight. But it appears to me that there is no inscription on the sepulchre, because the Dæmon did not permit the consequences of their courage to be such as might be expected. The Chæroneans venerate, above all the gods, the sceptre which Homer says Vulcan made for Jupiter. This sceptre Hermes received from Jupiter, and gave to Pelops; Pelops left it to Atreus; Atreus to Thyestes; and from Thyestes it came to Agamemnon. This sceptre, too, they denominate *the spear;* and, indeed, that it contains something of a nature more divine than usual, is evident from hence, that a certain splendor is seen proceeding from it. The Chæroneans say, that this sceptre was found in the borders of the Panopeans

in Phocis, and together with it a quantity of gold; and that they cheerfully took the sceptre instead of the gold. I am persuaded, that it was brought by Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, to Phocis. There is not, however, any temple publicly raised for this sceptre; but every year the person to whose care this sacred sceptre is committed, places it in a building destined to this purpose; and the people sacrifice to it every day, and place near it a table full of all kinds of flesh and sweetmeats.

CHAPTER XLI.

Of all the works, indeed, of Vulcan, which are celebrated by poets, and praised by the rest of mankind, this sceptre of Agamemnon is the only thing which deserves our belief. For the Lycians, who show in Pataræ in the temple of Apollo a brazen bowl, which they say was dedicated by Telephus, and made by Vulcan, are ignorant that the Samians, Theodorus, and Rhoecus, were the first brass-founders. The Achaian Patrenses, too, pretend that the chest which Eurypylus brought from Troy was made by Vulcan, but in reality they have no such chest to show. In Cyprus there is a city called Amathus; and in it there is an ancient temple of Adonis and Venus. They say, that in this temple there is a necklace which was given by Harmonia at first; but that it came to be called the necklace of Eriphyle, because she received it as a gift from her husband. Afterwards the sons of Phegeus dedicated it at Delphi. But how it came to these, we have shown in our account of the Arcadian affairs. And last of all it was taken away by the Phocæan tyrants. However, it does not appear to me, that the necklace, which the Amathusians possess in the temple of Adonis, belonged to Eriphyle, as this necklace in Amathus is composed of green stones set in gold; and

Homer, in the Odyssey, says that the necklace which was given to Eriphyle was made of gold:

> " There Eriphyle weeps, who loosely sold
> Her lord, her honour, for the lust of gold."

And yet Homer was not ignorant that there are various kinds of necklaces. For in the speeches of Eumæus to Ulysses, before the arrival of Telemachus from Pylus, there are the following lines:

> " An artist to my father's palace came,
> With gold and amber chains, elab'rate frame."

And among the gifts which Penelope received from the suitors, he says, that Eurymachus gave her a necklace:

> A necklace rich with gold, with amber gay,
> That shot effulgence like the solar ray,
> Eurymachus presents.———

But he does not say that Eriphyle received a necklace varied with gold and stones. So that it is probable, that this sceptre is the only thing among all these that was made by Vulcan. Above the city Chæronea there is a precipice, which is called Petrachos. They are of opinion that Saturn was in this place deceived by Rhea, when he swallowed a stone instead of Jupiter. On the summit of the mountain there is a small statue of Jupiter. In this part of Chæronea the inhabitants make an ointment, by boiling together roses, lilies, narcissuses, and the herb *iris*, or *sword-grass;* and this is a remedy against pain. If, indeed, you anoint wooden statues with the ointment of roses, you will preserve them from rottenness. The iris grows in marshy places, and is equal in size to the lily; but its colour is not white, and it does not emit so strong an odour as the lily.

BOOK X.

PHOCICS.

CHAPTER I.

It is evident that that part of Phocis which is about Tithorea and Delphos received its appellation, from the most ancient times, from the Corinthian Phocus, who was the son of Ornytion. Not many years, however, after, when the Æginetæ with Phocus the son of Æacus landed in these parts, the whole country which remains at present came to be called Phocis. But the Phocenses that are opposite to Peloponnesus, and those that dwell near Bœotia, and border on the sea, are situated between Cirrha, a haven of the Delphi, and the city Anticyra. For the Locri Hypocnemidii, who dwell beyond this part of Phocis, prevent the Phocenses from settling near the sea, which contains the Lamiacan bay. The Scarphenses are beyond Elatea; and beyond Hyampolis are the Abantes, who inhabit Opus, and Cynus the haven of the Opuntians. The most illustrious public transactions of the Phocenses are these: They engaged in the war against Troy; and led an army against the Thessalians, prior to the irruption of the Persians into Greece; at which time they accomplished the following memorable exploit. In that part of Hyampolis, in which they were informed by their spies the Thessalian horse intended to attack them, they dug up certain earthen urns, and, covering them with earth, waited the approach of the enemy. The Thessalians, therefore, being ignorant of the stratagem of the Phocenses, drove

their horses on the urns, whose feet being by this means either entangled or broken, their riders were thrown off and cut to pieces by the Phocenses. But the Thessalians, in consequence of this, being more enraged with the Phocenses than before, collected an army from all their cities, and again attacked the Phocenses, who were very much terrified, both with the other warlike preparations of the Thessalians, and particularly with the multitude of their horse, because the Thessalians not only surpassed them in the number of their cavalry, but in the art of managing their horses in war.

The Phocenses, therefore, sent to Delphos, and inquired of the god how they might avoid the impending danger. And the messengers brought back the following oracle: "I shall cause a mortal and a god to contend with each other: and I will give the victory to both, and another victory to the mortal." As soon as the Phocenses received this oracle, they sent three hundred chosen men, led by Gelo, against the enemy, and ordered them, as soon as it was night, to watch, in the most secret manner possible, the motions of the Thessalians, to return afterwards to their camps, and not to engage unless they were forced to it. The whole of this chosen troop, together with its leader, perished, being trampled under foot by the Thessalian horses, and slain by the enemy. This slaughter occasioned such a terror in the camp of the Phocenses, that they hastily collected together their wives, children, and all the property they were able either to drive or take away, together with their apparel, gold, silver, and statues of the gods. After this they raised a very large funeral pile, and left with it thirty men, whom they ordered to cut the throats of the women and children, burn all the property that was collected on the funeral pile, and afterwards either murder each other, or rush on the Thessalian horse, if the Phocenses should happen to be vanquished in the engagement. In

consequence of this command, all inhuman counsels came to be called by the Greeks *Phocic desperation.*

Immediately after this the Phocenses marched against the Thessalians, choosing for the commander of their horse Rhoecus Ambryssensis, and of their foot Daïphanes the Hyampolitan. But he who held the most honourable place among the commanders was the Elean prophet Tellias, in whom the Phocenses placed the hopes of their safety. As soon, therefore, as the engagement began, the Phocenses, recollecting what they had determined respecting their wives and children, perceived that their safety was very uncertain, and for their sakes engaged in every kind of daring undertaking. The signification, too, of the entrails gave them the highest reason to hope that the gods would be propitious to them. And indeed they obtained a victory of the most splendid kind; in consequence of which the oracle of Apollo, which was given to the Phocenses, was understood by all the Greeks. For the private word was given at the same time to each army; to the Thessalians, *Minerva Itonia;* but, to the Phocenses, *Phocus*, from whom they derived their name. In consequence of having gained this victory, the Phocenses sent gifts to the Delphic Apollo; viz. a statue of the god, and of Tellias, who was at that time the prophet, together with statues of the commanders and heroes of their own country. And all these were made by the Argive Aristomedon. The Phocenses, too, after this, were not wanting in subtilty of invention. For the camps of the enemy once happening to be fixed near the entrance to Phocis, five hundred chosen men of the Phocenses, as soon as the moon had completed her orb, attacked the Thessalians in the night, having rubbed their bodies over with plaster, and likewise their armour, which by this means became white. They say, that at this time a great slaughter was made of the Thessalians, who thought that what they saw in the night was something divine, and not the result of the

enemy's craft. But it was the Elean Tellias who invented this stratagem against the Thessalians. When the army, too, of the Persians passed over into Europe, it is said that the Phocenses were forced to join themselves to Xerxes; but that afterwards they deserted the party of the Medes, and fought on the side of the Greeks in the battle at Platæa.

CHAPTER II.

In after-times, however, they were fined by the Amphictyons. But I have not been able to find the true reason of this event taking place; whether it arose from the Phocenses having acted unjustly, or whether the Thessalians, on account of their ancient hatred to the Phocenses, were the occasion of their being fined. But when they were in a very desponding condition through the magnitude of the fine, Philomelus the son of Theotimus, who was not inferior in nobility to any of the Phocenses, and whose country was Ledon a Phocic city, showed them that it was impossible for them to pay the fine, and persuaded them to plunder the temple of the Delphic Apollo. Among other arguments which he offered in order to effect this, he informed them, that the affairs of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were in a condition very well adapted to the execution of this design; and that if the Thebans or any other nation should make war upon them, they might easily vanquish their enemies, both by their own valour, and the money which they would be enabled to expend. This speech of Philomelus was favourably received by the multitude of the Phocenses, whether some god perverted their understanding, or whether these people naturally preferred gain to piety. The Phocenses therefore plundered the temple of Apollo, when Heraclides governed the Delphi, and Agathocles was the

Athenian archon; and in the fourth year of the one hundred and fifth Olympiad, in which the Cyrenæan Prorus was victorious. After this they collected together a very powerful army of mercenary soldiers; and the Thebans openly declared war against them, in consequence of being at variance with them prior to this event.

This war lasted for ten years; and during the continuance of it, the Phocenses with their mercenary troops were sometimes victorious, and this was often the case with the Thebans. But an engagement taking place near the city Neon, the Phocenses were put to flight, and in this flight Philomelus hurled himself from a precipice, and by this means destroyed himself; and all that followed him were punished by the Amphictyons with the same kind of death. After the death of Philomelus the Phocenses gave the government to Onomarchus: but Philip the son of Amyntas joined himself to the Thebans, and in the engagement which ensued vanquished the enemy. Onomarchus therefore flying to the sea, was pierced to death by the arrows of his own soldiers, who accused his timidity and ignorance in war, as the causes of their having been vanquished. And such was the end which the Dæmon gave to the life of Onomarchus. The Phocenses, after this, invested his brother Phayllus with the supreme authority. But he had scarcely begun his reign, when he saw the following vision in a dream: Among the gifts sacred to Apollo there was an ancient brazen image of a man, whose flesh had been consumed by disease, and whose bones alone remained. The Delphi say that this was dedicated by Hippocrates the physician. Phayllus in a dream saw himself resembling this image; and immediately after was seized with a tabid disease, which fulfilled the prediction of his dream. In consequence of this event taking place, the supreme authority was given to Phalæcus the son of Phayllus; but he lost his kingdom through appropriating the sacred wealth to his own private purposes. After this

he sailed to Crete with such of the Phocenses as embraced his party, and besieged with a band of mercenary troops the city Cydonia, because the inhabitants would not pay him the money which he demanded. He lost, however, in this siege a great part of his army, and was himself slain.

CHAPTER III.

In the tenth year after the temple was plundered, Philip brought this war, which is called Phocic and sacred, to an end. At that time Theophilus was the Athenian archon, and it was the first year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, in which the Cyrenæan Polycles was victor in the stadium. The following Phocæan cities were then taken, and levelled with the ground, viz. Lilæa, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus, and Daulis. The names of these cities were renowned in former times, and are celebrated in no small degree in the poems of Homer. But the Phocæan cities Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neon, Tethronium, and Drymæa, which were burnt by the army of Xerxes, became through this circumstance more known to the Greeks. All the other cities except Elatea were obscure prior to this war, viz. the Phocic Thracis, Medeon, Phocicus, Echedamia, Ambrysus, Ledon, Phlygonium, and Sterrhis. All these cities which we have enumerated were then destroyed, and, except Abas, were reduced to the form of villages. For the Abæans were free from the impiety of the other cities, and had neither plundered the temple of Apollo, nor engaged in the war. The Phocenses, too, are forbidden the use of the Delphic temple, are not admitted as members of the general assembly of the Greeks, and the Amphictyons have taken from them the privilege of voting, and transferred it to the Macedonians. Some time after this the Phocæan

cities were rebuilt, and the Phocenses returned from their villages to their pristine habitations. We must, however, except those cities which, by reason of their imbecility from the first, and their indigence at that time, could not be rebuilt. The Athenians and Thebans, prior to the loss of the Greeks at Chæronea, were the leaders of this restoration. The Phocenses likewise partook of the engagement at Chæronea, and afterwards, at Lamia and Cranon, fought against Antipater and the Macedonians. They opposed, too, the Gauls and the Celtic army, with greater alacrity than the rest of the Greeks, that they might revenge the injury which had been offered to the Delphic Apollo, and, as it appears to me, that they might apologise for their pristine guilt. And such are the memorable transactions of the Phocenses.

CHAPTER IV.

From Chæronea there is a road of twenty stadia in length, which leads to Panopeus, a city of the Phocenses, if it be proper to call that a city in which there is neither a governor, nor a gymnasium, nor a theatre, nor a forum, nor, lastly, any fountain of water. The inhabitants dwell in wooden houses, resembling the cottages in mountains, and these are situated near a chasm made by a torrent. They have boundaries, too, which separate them from their neighbours; and they send members to the Phocic convention. They say that their city was denominated from the father of Epeus, and that they were at first the Phlegyæ, and fled to Phocis from the Orchomenians. I have seen the ancient inclosure of Panopea, which, I conjecture, is about seven stadia in circumference. While I was surveying it, those verses of Homer respecting Tityus came into my mind, in which he calls the city of the Panopeans *Callichoros*, or *delighting in*

the dance. I likewise recollected, that in the contest for the dead body of Patroclus, he says, that Schedius the son of Iphitus, and king of the Phocenses, who was slain by Hector, dwelt in Panopeus. It appears to me, that the cause of his dwelling here was his fear of the Bœotians (for Phocis in this part is very much exposed to the attacks of the Bœotians), and that he used Panopeus as a place of defence. I was not, however, able to conjecture why Homer called Panopeus *Callithoros,* till I learnt the reason from those Athenians who are called Thyades. These Thyades are Attic women, who every year come to Parnassus, and, together with Delphic women, celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. It is an established custom with the Thyades to form choirs in the road from Athens, in other places, and among the Panopeans. Homer, therefore, by the appellation Panopeus, appears to signify the choir of the Thyades.

In the public road of the Panopeans there is a building of crude tiles, and in it a statue of Pentelican stone, which some say is the statue of Æsculapius, and others of Prometheus. These last think their opinion is confirmed from hence: Near the chasm formed by the torrent, there are stones of such a magnitude that each is sufficient to load a cart. These stones are of the colour of clay, yet not of such clay as is dug out of the earth, but of such as is found among the gravel of rivers and torrents. These stones, too, smell very much like a human body; and they say that these are the remains of that clay from which the whole race of mankind was fashioned by Prometheus. In the same place, viz. near the chasm of the torrent, there is a sepulchre of Tityus: and the circumference of the heap of earth which forms his tomb is about one third of a stadium. But of Tityus it is said in the Odyssey:

> "There Tityus, large and long, in fetters bound,
> O'erspreads nine acres of infernal ground."

They say, that this verse does not allude to the magnitude of Tityus, but to the place in which he lies buried, and which is nine acres in extent. But Cleon, one of those Magnesians that dwell about Hermus, says that things of a very wonderful nature must be incredible to those who, during the whole course of their life, never beheld any thing which surpasses the conceptions of the vulgar. He adds, that he is persuaded both Tityus and others were really as large as they are reported to have been. For, says he, I once went to Gades, and sailed with all the company of my attendants from that island, agreeably to the command of Hercules. But afterwards returning to Gades, I found a marine man thrown up on the shore, who had been burnt by lightning, and whose magnitude was not less than five acres.

But Daulis is about seven stadia distant from Panopeus. This city does not contain many inhabitants; but those which it does contain, surpass all the Phocenses in magnitude and strength of body. They say, that the city was denominated from the nymph Daulis, who was the daughter of Cephissus. It is also said by others, that the place where the city stands was formerly full of trees, and that the ancients called things *dense* or *close*, *daula*. Hence, say they, Æschylus calls the beard of Glaucus Anthedonius, *daulos*, or *thick*. In this city the women are said to have feasted Tereus with the body of his son; and the polluted tables of mankind originated from hence. But the hoopoop, into which they say Tereus was changed, is a bird not larger than a quail, and has wings on its head which resemble crests. It is a wonderful circumstance that, in this country, swallows neither breed, nor lay eggs, nor build their nests on the roofs of houses. The Phocenses say, that when Philomela was changed into a bird, she flew from the country of Tereus through fear of him. But the Daulienses have a temple of Minerva, in which there is an ancient statue of

the goddess. It likewise contains a more ancient wooden statue, which they say Procne brought from Athens. A place called Thronius forms a part of the Daulian land: and in this place there is an heroic monument, dedicated to that hero, from whom the people here derived their origin. Some say, that this hero was Xanthippus, a man of no obscure reputation in warlike affairs: but others are of opinion, that he was Phocus, the son of Ornytion, and the grandson of Sisyphus. This hero they venerate every day; and, after they have slain the victims which they sacrifice to him, they pour the blood through a hole into the sepulchre, and consume the entrails in the same place. There is an eminence in Daulis, by which you may ascend to the summits of mount Parnassus. This road is longer, but not so difficult as that at Delphos, which leads to the same summits.

CHAPTER V.

On again turning from Daulis, and proceeding in a straight line to Delphos, you will see on the left hand a building which they call *Phocicon*, and into which the Phocenses from each of their cities assemble. This building is very large; and in it there are pillars placed according to its length. From the pillars, too, there are steps to each of its walls: and on these steps the Phocenses sit when they assemble. But near the extremity of the building there are neither pillars nor steps. There is, however, here a statue of Jupiter sitting on a throne; and on his right hand there is a statue of Juno, and on his left of Minerva. Proceeding from hence, you will arrive at a road which they call *Schiste*, or *cut*; and in this road Oedipus murdered his father. Indeed, every part of Greece contains some monument of the calamities of Oedipus. For as soon as he was born, his

parents bored the soles of his feet, and exposed him on the mountain Cithæron belonging to the Platæenses. Corinth, and the country about the Isthmus, educated him. Phocis, and the road Schiste, were polluted with his father's blood. And the Thebans are rendered infamous by the marriages of Oedipus, and the base conduct of Eteocles. However, the daring action of Oedipus in the road Schiste was the origin of all his calamities. The sepulchres of Laius and the servants that followed him, are in the middle of a place where three roads meet, and select stones are piled in a heap over them. They say, that Damisistratus, when he reigned over the Platæenses, met with these dead bodies, and buried them. There is a public road, steep and difficult to a light-armed soldier, which leads from hence to Delphos. Many things, indeed, are reported of the Delphi, and particularly concerning the oracle of Apollo. For they say, that this oracle is the most ancient of any on the earth; that Daphne was chosen by Earth priestess of the oracle, and that she was one of the nymphs that inhabit mountains.

But the Greeks have a piece of poetical composition, which they call Eumolpia, and the author of which, they say, was Musæus, the son of Antiophemus. In this poem it is asserted, that there is an oracle in common of Neptune and Earth; that Earth delivered her oracles from her own mouth; but that Neptune had Pyrcon for his interpreter. The verses respecting this affair are these:

> "From her own mouth Earth utter'd prudent words,
> But Pyrcon was illustrious Neptune's priest."

They say, that afterwards Earth gave her part of the oracle to Themis; but Themis to Apollo; and that Apollo received the other part from Neptune, in return for which he gave Neptune the island Calaurea, which is situated before Trœzen. I have also heard it asserted, that certain shepherds, who once happened to come to the oracle, became

divinely inspired from the vapour of the earth, and prophesied through the influence of Apollo. But Phemonoe arrived at the highest degree of celebrity, as being the first prophetess of the god, and the first that sang an hexameter verse. Boeo, a woman who was a native of Delphos, and who composed a hymn for the Delphi, says, that both others that came from the Hyperboreans, and Olen, built a place for the oracle of Apollo; and that Olen was the first who prophesied at Delphos, and delivered oracles in hexameter verses. The following are the verses of Boeo:

> "Here Pegasus, Agyieus the divine,
> From th' Hyperboreans, Phœbus, raised to thee
> A building, for thine oracle renown'd."

And, after she has enumerated other Hyperboreans, towards the end of the hymn, she mentions Olen:

> "Olen, the first who Phœbus' will disclosed,
> The first who verses of the ancients sung."

If we follow tradition, however, women alone were the first interpreters of oracles.

They farther report, that the most ancient temple of Apollo was raised from the laurel-tree; and that the branches from which it was built were cut from that tree which is at Tempe. The form of this temple resembled that of a cottage. But the Delphi say, that the other temple of Apollo was raised by bees from wax and wings, and was sent by Apollo to the Hyperboreans. There is likewise another report concerning this affair; that a Delphos man, whose name was Pteras, built this temple, and that from this circumstance the temple came to be called by the name of its artificer. From this same Pteras, too, a Cretan city, with the addition of one letter, was denominated Apteræi. I cannot, however, be induced to believe that this temple was framed from a herb *Pteris*, or *fern*, which grows on mountains, and this while

the herb was yet green. But with respect to the third temple, the report that it was built of brass is by no means wonderful, since Acrisius made a brazen bed-chamber for his daughter; and even at present there is a temple of Minerva, among the Lacedæmonians, which, from its being built of brass, is called *Chalkioicos*. Among the Romans, too, there is a forum, which is admirable both for its magnitude and ornaments, and which has a brazen roof. So that it is not improbable, that there may have been a brazen temple of Apollo. As to the rest, the relations are doubtless fabulous, either that this temple was built by Vulcan, or that golden virgins sang in it, which is asserted by Pindar as follows:

"Suspended from the roof, there golden virgins sang."

It appears to me, that Pindar invented this fable, in imitation of what Homer says respecting the Sirens. But neither do I find that the same accounts are given of the destruction of this temple. Some say it fell into an opening of the earth; but, according to others, it was destroyed by fire. The fourth temple of Apollo is said to have been built of stone, by Trophonius and Agamedes; and this was burnt when Erxiclides was the Athenian archon; and in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, in which Diognetus Crotoniates was victor. But the temple which exists at present was raised by the Amphictyons out of their sacred money; and its architect was the Corinthian Spintharus.

CHAPTER VI.

They say, too, that a most ancient city was built here by Parnassus, who was the son of the nymph Cleodora. And just the same as with respect to others that are called heroes,

they say, that his fathers were, of the gods, Neptune, and of men, Cleopompus; and that from him the mountain Parnassus and the thicket Parnassia were denominated. They farther add, that prophecy by the flight of birds was invented by this Parnassus; but that the city which he built was destroyed by the rain which fell in the times of Deucalion: that such men as were able to fly from the storm followed the howlings of wolves, and, with wild beasts for their guides, escaped to the summits of Parnassus; and that from this circumstance they called the city which they built there Lycorea. There is likewise another report different from this, that Lycorus was the son of Apollo by the nymph Corycia; that from him the city was called Lycorea: but that the cavern was denominated Corycium, from the nymph. It is also said, that Celæno was the daughter of Hyamus, the son of Lycorus; and that Apollo had by her a son Delphos, from whom the present name of the city was derived. Others, again, say, that one Castalius, a native of this city, had a daughter whose name was Thyia, and who was the first that officiated as priestess to Bacchus, and celebrated the orgies of the god. That from her those, afterwards, that were agitated with Bacchic fury came to be called *Thyiadai*. Hence they are of opinion, that Delphos was the son of Apollo and Thyia. But, according to others, his mother was Melæne, the daughter of Cephissus.

Some time after this, not only the neighbouring people called the city Delphos, but likewise Pytho, as is evident from the verses of Homer, in his catalogue of the Phocenses. Those, however, who are much conversant with genealogies, say that Pythis was the son of Delphos, and that from him, while he reigned here, the city was denominated. There is a report, too, among the vulgar, that a certain inhabitant of this place was pierced with the arrows of Apollo, and that on this account the city was called Pytho, because, at that time, things which *putrefied* were said *puthesthai*, which

means *to become rotten.* Hence Homer says, that the island of the Sirens was full of bones, because men that heard their song, *eputhonto,* i. e. *became rotten.* With respect to the animal that was slain by Apollo, the poets say it was a dragon, to whom Earth had committed the custody of the oracle. It is also said, that Crius, when he reigned in Euboea, had a son of a very insolent disposition, who plundered the temple of Apollo, and the dwellings of the rich. But when he was about to plunder them a second time, with a band of robbers, the Delphi suppliantly implored Apollo to preserve them from the impending danger: and Phemonoe, who was at that time the prophetess, answered them in hexameter verses to this effect: "In a short time Phœbus will pierce with his arrows a man, the destroyer of Parnassus: but the Cretans shall purify their hands from the slaughter, and the fame of the dead shall never perish."

CHAPTER VII.

It appears, indeed, that the temple in Delphos was from the first often plundered by the sacrilegious. For after the Eubœan, of whom we have just spoken, the nation of the Phlegyans, and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, plundered it. After these, again, it was robbed by a part of the forces of Xerxes, by the most powerful persons among the Phocenses (who enriched themselves the most of all others, and for the longest time, with the treasures of the god), and by the army of the Gauls. And, last of all, this temple could not escape the impiety of Nero, who took away from hence five hundred brazen images, which were partly statues of the gods, and partly of men. They relate, that a most ancient contest was established here, which consisted in singing a hymn in honour of Apollo: and that he who first conquered

in singing was the Cretan Chrysothemis, whose father, Carmanor, is said to have purified Apollo. Philammon was the next that was victorious after Chrysothemis; and Thamyris, the son of Philammon, conquered after his father. They say that Orpheus was unwilling to engage in this contest, by reason of the dignity of his composition relative to the mysteries, and that elevation of soul which he acquired by his other productions; and that Musæus would not engage in it, through his imitation of Orpheus in every respect. They say, too, that Eleuther bore away the Pythian palm, through speaking with a loud and sweet voice, as he was not able to sing the song which he had composed. They likewise farther relate, that Hesiod was not permitted to contend, because he had not learned to accompany his harp with his voice: but that Homer came to Delphos for the purpose of consulting what was necessary to be done; though, even if he had learnt to play on the harp, his art would have been of no use to him, through the loss of his sight. In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, in which Glaucias, the Crotonian, was victor, the Amphictyons instituted games, in which there was singing to the harp as at first; and to which they added singing to the pipe, and playing on the pipe without singing. Cephalen, the son of Lampus, was proclaimed victor on the harp; Arcas Echembrotus in singing to the pipe; and the Argive Sacadas in playing on the pipe without singing.

The same Sacadas, too, was twice victorious after this in the Pythian games. And at that time the same contests were instituted as in the Olympic games, except the contest with four horses. It was likewise established by law, that boys should contend in the long race, and in the twofold course. After this, Pythian games were instituted, in which a crown alone was the object of contention, and in which singing to the pipe was rejected, as not being pleasing

to the ear. For elegies and funeral dirges are accommodated to the melody of pipes. The sacred offering of Echembrotus confirms what I have said; for he dedicated, in Thebes, a brazen tripod to Hercules, with this inscription: ECHEMBROTUS ARCAS DEDICATES THIS STATUE TO HERCULES, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HAVING BEEN VICTORIOUS IN THE CONTESTS OF THE AMPHICTYONS, AND THIS BY SINGING AMONG THE GREEKS, SONGS AND ELEGIES. This was the reason, therefore, why the contest of singing to the pipe ceased. Afterwards, they added horse-races, and Clisthenes, the Sicyonian tyrant, was victorious in the chariot-race. In the eighth Pythiad, the contests of those who play on the harp, but do not accompany it with their voice, were instituted; and in this contest Agelaus Tegeates was victorious. In the twenty-third Pythiad, the armed course was established; and in this Timænetus, the Phliasian, received the laurel crown, in five Olympiads after which Demaratus Heræensis was victorious. In the forty-eighth Pythiad, the contest with the two-yoked car was adopted; and in this the car of Execestides, the Phocensian, was victorious. But in the fifth Pythiad from this, they ran with colts joined to the car; and in this the four colts of the Theban Orphondas gained the victory. They instituted, however, many years after the Eleans, the pancratium among boys, the car drawn by two colts, and the vaulting horse; for they instituted the pancratium in the sixty-first Pythiad, and in this the Theban Laidas was victorious: but one Pythiad after this, they established the course with the vaulting colt; and in the sixty-ninth Pythiad, the car drawn by two colts. And with the vaulting colt, indeed, the Larissæan Lycormas was victorious; but the Macedonian Ptolemy with the two-yoked car. For the Egyptian kings willingly suffered themselves to be called Macedonians, as indeed they were. But it appears to me, that the laurel crown was given as the reward

of victory in the Pythian games, for no other reason than because, according to report, Daphne, the daughter of Ladon, was beloved by Apollo.

CHAPTER VIII.

It is said, that the first Grecian *Sunedrion*, or place of association, was raised here by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, and that from him those who assembled here were called Amphictyons. But Androtion, in his Attic history, says, that all the inhabitants bordering on the Delphi came from the first to Delphos, and formed there an assembly; and that the members of this convention were called, in process of time, Amphictyons. They say, too, that the following Grecian people were collected into this assembly by Amphictyon, viz. the Ionians, Dolopians, Thessalians, Ænianians, Magnetæ, Maleenses, Phthiotæ, Dorienses, Phocenses, and the Locrians that border on Phocis, and dwell under the mountain Cnemis. But when the Phocenses plundered the temple, and in the tenth year when the war was finished, the Sunedrion of the Amphictyons was changed: for the Macedonians were admitted into this assembly; and the nation of the Phocenses, and the Doric Lacedæmonians ceased to become members of it: the former on account of their sacrilegious conduct, and the latter because they assisted the Phocenses in war, and were for this obliged to pay a fine. But when Brennus led an army of Gauls to Delphos, the Phocenses fought against them with an alacrity superior to that of the other Greeks, and, in consequence of this, again partook of the assembly of the Amphictyons, and recovered all their ancient dignity. Afterwards, the Emperor Augustus was willing that the Nicopolitans at Actium should likewise partake of this assembly.

He therefore ordered the Magnetæ, Maleenses, Æniana, and Phthiotæ, to join themselves to the Thessalians; and transferred the suffrages of these people and the Dolopians to the Nicopolitans. The Amphictyons, in my time, were thirty in number. Nicopolis, Macedonia, and the Thessalians, had each of them two. Among the Bœotians (for these formerly were a part of Thessaly, and were called the Æolenses) there were two. So, likewise, the Phocenses and the Delphi had each of them two; and the ancient Doric land had one. The Locri, too, who are called Ozolæ, and those who are beyond Eubœa, send each of them one: and the Eubœenses and the Athenians each send one. The cities, indeed, Delphos and Nicopolis, send members to the assembly of the Amphictyons, and are present at every assembly: but each of the other nations we have enumerated only joins this convention at stated periods.

On coming into the city, you will see temples in a continued series. The first of these is in a ruinous condition; the second is without statues; the third has images of the Roman emperors, but these are not numerous; and the fourth is called the temple of Minerva *Pronoia*. But of the statues which are in the vestibule of this temple, there is an offering of the Massilienses, which is larger than the statue within the temple. These Massilienses are a colony of the Phocaenses, and a part of those Ionians, who, in order to avoid Harpagus the Mede, fled from Phocœa. Having, however, vanquished the Carthaginians in a naval battle, they took possession of that country which they now inhabit, and arrived at a high degree of prosperity. The offering, too, of the Massilienses is brazen. But the Delphi say, that the golden shield, which was dedicated by Crœsus, the Lydian king, to Minerva Pronoia, was taken away by Philomelus. Near this temple of Minerva there is an heroic grove of Phylacus. According to the Delphi, this Phylacus assisted them when they were attacked by the

Persians. But in that part of the gymnasium which is in the open air, they say a wild boar was once born; that Ulysses, when he was going to Autolycus, hunted this boar, together with the sons of Autolycus; and that he was wounded by it on the knee. On turning to the left hand from the gymnasium, and descending not more (as it appears to me) than three stadia, you will see the river Plistus. This river runs into Cirrha, a haven of the Delphi, and the sea which is in that part. But on ascending from the gymnasium to the temple, you will see, on the right hand of the road, the water of Castalia, which is sweet to the taste. They say that a woman, a native of this place, gave a name to the fountain; but some are of opinion, that it was denominated by a man whose name was Castalius. Panyassis, however, the son of Polyarchus, says, in the verses which he composed on Hercules, that Castalia was the daughter of Achelous. For thus he speaks concerning Hercules:

> "With rapid feet, Parnassus' snowy top
> He left behind, and to Castalia's stream
> Immortal Achelous' daughter came."

I have likewise heard it asserted, that this water of Castalia is the gift of the river Cephissus. Alcæus, indeed, says this, in the introduction of his hymn to Apollo: and this is confirmed by the Lilæenses, who report, that when, on stated days, they throw into the fountain of Cephissus cattle belonging to their country, and other things, according to established rites, they are again seen in the river Castalia. The city of the Delphi in every part rises to a steep: and the sacred inclosure of Apollo has the same situation with the city. This temple is very large, and stands in the upper part of the city: and passages in a continued series cut one another through the temple.

CHAPTER IX.

I SHALL now give an account of those sacred offerings which appear to me to merit description in the most eminent degree. For I shall not make any mention of those athletæ and contending musicians who are of no great estimation: and as to those athletæ that have left behind them a great reputation, the reader will find an account of them in my Eliacs. Phayllus, however, the Crotonian, is not among the number of these, because he was not victorious in the Olympic games: but he was twice victorious in the quinquertium, and once in the stadium of the Pythian games. The same person, too, fought against the Persians in a naval battle, furnishing for this purpose a ship of his own, and manning it with such of the Crotonians as were then travelling about Greece. There is a statue of him among the Delphi: and such are the particulars respecting this Crotonian. On entering into the grove, you will see a brazen bull, which was made by Theopropus Æginetes, and was the gift of the Corcyræans. It is said, that a bull once in Corcyra, having left the oxen his companions, and the pastures in which he fed, came near the sea and lowed; that in consequence of his doing the same every day, the herdsman went to the sea-side, and beheld an almost infinite number of tunny fishes; and that when he had informed the Corcyræans of this circumstance, they, on endeavouring to catch these fishes, but without success, sent *speculators* (*Theoroi*) to Delphos. In compliance, therefore, with the mandate of the oracle, they sacrificed a bull to Neptune, and immediately after the sacrifice caught the fishes. Hence they sent both to Olympia and Delphos a tenth part of the value of what they caught, as a sacred offering. After this,

the gifts of the Tegeatæ, from the spoils of the Lacedæmonians, follow, viz. Apollo and Victory, heroes, natives of their country; Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon; Arcas, from whom a country was denominated; the sons of Arcas, viz. Aphidas and Azan; and together with these Triphylus, whose mother was not Erato, but Laodamea, the daughter of Amyclas, king of the Lacedæmonians.

They also dedicated Erasus, the son of Triphylus. But with respect to the artificers of these statues, Apollo and Callisto were made by Pausanias, the Apollonian; Victory, and the image of Arcas, by Dædalus, the Sicyonian; Triphylus and Azan, by Arcas Samolas; and Elatus, Aphidas, and Erasus, by the Argive Antiphanes. These statues the Tegeatæ sent to Delphos, in consequence of having made the Lacedæmonians captives who made hostile incursions on their borders. Opposite to these are the offerings which the Lacedæmonians dedicated when they vanquished the Athenians, viz. the Dioscuri, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana; and, together with these, Neptune, and Lysander, the son of Aristocretus, receiving a crown from Neptune. There are besides, Abas, who prophesied to Lysander; and Hermon, who was the pilot of Lysander's prætorian ship. Theocosmus, the Megarensian, made this statue of Hermon, when he was ranked among the citizens of the Megarenses. But the Dioscuri were made by the Argive Antiphanes. The prophet Abas was made by Pauson, from Calaurea, belonging to the Troezenians. Damias made Diana, Neptune, and Lysander; and Athenodorus Apollo and Jupiter. Both these artists were Arcadians from Clitor. Behind the statues which we have just mentioned, the statues of those men are placed who assisted Lysander in the battle at Ægospotamos, and who were either Spartans, or the allies of the Spartans. And these are as follow: Aracus and Erianthes, the former a Lacedæmonian, and the latter a

Bœotian from Mimas. After these, Astycrates, Cephisocles, Hermophantus, Hicisius, Chians; Timarchus and Diagoras, Rhodians; Theodomas the Cnidian, Cimmerius the Ephesian, Æantides the Milesian, succeed. All these were made by Tisander.

These that follow were made by Alypus the Sicyonian; viz. Theopompus the Midean, Cleomedes the Samian; from Eubœa, Aristocles the Carystian, Autonomus the Eretriensian, Aristophantus the Corinthian, Apollodorus the Troezenian; and from Epidaurus, in the borders of the Argives, Dion. Next to these are the Achaian Axionicus from Pellene, Theares from Hermione, Pyrias from Phocis, Conon from Megara, Agimenes from Sicyon, Pythodotus the Corinthian, Telecrates the Leucadian, and Euantidas from Ambracia. Last of all follow the Lacedæmonians, Epicyridas, and Eteonicus. They say, that these were made by Patrocles and Canachus. But the Athenians affirm, that the loss which they suffered at Ægospotamos happened to them unjustly, in consequence of the commanders of their army being bribed. For they say, that Tydeus and Adimantus received presents from Lysander: and in proof of this they adduce the following Sibylline oracle: "And then shall high-thundering Jupiter, who possesses the greatest strength, severely afflict the Athenians: for he will bring war and destruction on their ships, which will perish through the fraudulent conduct of their commanders." They likewise produce the following testimony from the oracles of Musæus: "A mighty storm shall burst on the Athenians, through the baseness of their leaders; but they will be consoled for their misfortune, by subverting the city of their enemies, and avenging the loss which they sustained." And thus much concerning this affair. But the same Sibyl predicted, that the event of the engagement which took place between the Lacedæmonians and Argives above Thyrea,

would be doubtful. The Argives, however, being of opinion, that they should vanquish their enemies, sent a brazen horse to the statue of Durius at Delphos: and this horse was made by the Argive Antiphanes.

CHAPTER X.

On the basis, under this horse, there is an inscription, which signifies that statues were dedicated here from the tenth of the spoils of the battle of Marathon. These statues are Minerva and Apollo; and, of the commanders, Miltiades. But of those that are called heroes, Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Pandion: Celeus, likewise, and Antiochus, the son of Hercules, by Midea, the daughter of Phylas, together with Ægeus; and of the sons of Theseus, Acamas. These, in consequence of a Delphic oracle, gave names to the Athenian tribes. Here, too, there are statues of Codrus, the son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Phyleus, who were not ranked among the surnames. All these statues were made by Phidias, and are in reality the tenths of the Marathonian battle. Afterwards, they sent Antigonus and his son Demetrius, and the Egyptian Ptolemy, to Delphos; the latter on account of their benevolence towards him; and the two former through fear. Other gifts of the Argives may be seen not far from this horse, viz. those leaders who, together with Polynices, warred on Thebes; Adrastus, the son of Talaus, and Tydeus, the son of Oeneus: the grandsons, likewise, of Proetus, together with Capaneus, the son of Hipponous, and Eteocles, the son of Iphis: and, besides these, Polynices, and Hippomedon, who was the son of the sister of Adrastus. Amphiaraus, too, is dedicated here, with his chariot, which is placed near him. Baton stands in this chariot, who was the charioteer of Amphiaraus, and,

at the same time, allied to him by his birth. The last of these is Alitherses. The artificers of all these were Hypatodorus and Aristogiton: and they say that the Argives dedicated them out of the spoils of the victory, which, through the assistance of the Athenians, they gained over the Lacedæmonians in Oenoe, an Argive city. It appears to me, too, that the Argives dedicated out of the same spoils the images of those who are called by the Greeks *Epigonoi*, or *posterior sons*. For statues of these are placed here, viz. Sthenelus, and Alcmæon, who, in my opinion, was honoured above Amphilocus, on account of his age. To these are added, Promachus, Thersander, Ægialeus, and Diomed. Euryalus, too, stands between Diomed and Ægialeus.

Opposite to these there are other statues, which were dedicated by the Argives, when they assisted Epaminondas, the Theban general, in restoring the Messenians. There are, likewise, images here of heroes, viz. king Danaus, who arrived at the highest degree of power and wealth in Argos: Hypermnestra, because she was the only one of his daughters that had pure hands: and near her Lynceus, and all those who derive their origin from Hercules, and still higher from Perseus. There are, besides, brazen horses of the Tarentines, and captive women, which the Tarentines sent in consequence of having conquered the Messapians, who are a barbarous nation, bordering on the Tarentines: and these are the works of the Argive Ageladas. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, colonised Tarentum, under the command of the Spartan Phalanthus, who, when he was sent on this errand, was told by a Delphic oracle, that when he should see rain falling from a serene sky, he would then possess a land and city. But as he was not able by himself to discover the meaning of the oracle, and did not consult any interpreter, he sailed with a fleet to Italy. Here having conquered the Barbarians, but neither obtaining any land or city, he re-

collected the oracle, and was of opinion that the god had predicted that which could not be accomplished; as it appeared to him impossible that there should be rain when the sky was clear and serene. His wife, however, when he was in a desponding condition (for he had returned home), endeavoured to console him by her endearing officiousness; and as she was once supporting his head on her knees, and freeing it from vermin, through a benevolent concern for the adverse situation of his affairs, she began to weep; and her tears, as she wept abundantly, fell on the head of her husband, who then perceived the meaning of the oracle: for his wife's name was *Æthra*, which is the Greek word for a *serene sky*. On the following night, therefore, he took Tarentum, a great and most flourishing maritime city of the Barbarians. They say, indeed, that the hero Taras was the son of Neptune, by a nymph, a native of Tarentum; and that from the hero both a city and river are denominated Taras.

CHAPTER XI.

NEAR the sacred offering of the Tarentines, there is a treasury of the Sicyonians: but there are neither any riches in this, nor in any other treasury. The Gnidii, likewise, brought statues to Delphos; viz. Triopas, who built Gnidus, standing by a horse; Latona, Apollo, and Diana, piercing Tityus with their arrows, whose body is represented wounded. These stood near the treasury of the Sicyonians. The Siphnii, too, made a treasury on the following account. The island Siphnos had gold mines; and they were ordered by Apollo to send a tenth of the produce of these mines to Delphos; in consequence of which they built a treasury, and sent with it a tenth of the produce of their mines. Afterwards, however, through their immoderate desire of

accumulating wealth, they neglected to send the tenth of their riches to Delphos; and in consequence of this their gold mines were destroyed by an inundation of the sea. The Liparæi, likewise, have dedicated statues here for a naval victory, which they gained over the Tyrrheni. These Liparæi were a colony of Gnidians, who, as we are informed by the Syracusan Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, in his Sicilian history, were colonised by a Gnidian, whose name was Pentathlus. This historian adds, that the Gnidians being driven from that city which they had built at Pachynum, a promontory of Sicily, by the Elymi and Phœnicians, either took possession of desert islands, or drove the inhabitants out of the islands on which they landed: and these, in conformity to the verses of Homer, they call at present the islands of Æolus. In Lipara, one of these islands, they built a city: but they sailed to Hiera, Strongyle, and Didymæ, for the purpose of cultivating the land in these places.

It is evident that in Strongyle fire rises out of the ground: and in Hiera fire spontaneously ascends from the promontory on the island. Near the sea here there are baths of salubrious water, and of a more temperate nature; for the water in other parts is not adapted for bathing, through its great heat. But to return to the gifts in the temple, the Thebans and Athenians have dedicated here treasuries, in consequence of success in war. I do not, however, know whether the Gnidians built their treasury in consequence of any victory, or for the purpose of showing the prosperous condition of their affairs. For the Thebans dedicated treasuries on account of the victory which they gained at Leuctra, and the Athenians for their success at Marathon. But the Cleonæi, being afflicted with a pestilence in the same manner as the Athenians, by the admonition of the Delphic oracle, immolated a goat to the rising sun, and, when they were by this means freed from their malady, sent a brazen goat to

Apollo. After these, follow the gifts of the Potidæatæ in Thrace, and of the Syracusans. These last sent a treasury to the temple, on account of the great victory which they obtained over the Athenians: but the Potidæatæ sent a treasury as a testimony of their piety to the god. The Athenians, too, have dedicated a porch, from the spoils which they took from the Peloponnesians and their Grecian allies. In this place, likewise, the ornaments belonging to the extremities of ships are dedicated, and together with them brazen shields. The inscription on these mentions the cities from which the Athenians sent the first fruits of their spoils, viz. Elis, Lacedæmon, Sicyon, Megara, the Pellenenses, the Achaians, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth. They sacrifice to Theseus for these naval victories, and to Neptune, whom they call *Orios*. This inscription, too, as it appears to me, celebrates Phormio, the son of Asopichus, and his illustrious achievements.

CHAPTER XII.

A STONE elevates itself above this place, on which the Sibyl Herophile (as the Delphi say) used to sing her oracles. I have found that this Sibyl was thus denominated from the first, in the same manner as any other ancient Sibyl. The Greeks say that she was the daughter of Jupiter and Lamia; that Lamia was the daughter of Neptune; and that she was the first woman that sang oracles, and was denominated by the Africans Sibylla. This Sibyl Herophile, indeed, was certainly posterior to Lamia; but, at the same time, it appears that she flourished prior to the Trojan war. For she predicted that Helen would be educated in Sparta; that she would be the destruction of Asia and Europe; and that Troy, through her means, would be taken by the

Greeks. The Delians make mention of her hymns to Apollo: and, in her verses, she not only calls herself Herophile, but likewise Diana. She likewise asserts of herself that she is the wife of Apollo; and, besides this, that she is his sister and daughter. But these assertions are the result of her being agitated with fury, and possessed by the god. In another part, too, of her oracles, she says, that she was born from an immortal mother, viz. one of the nymphs of mount Ida, and a mortal father: for thus she speaks concerning herself:

> "From an immortal nymph, and whale-fed sire,
> A mean between the two, I sprung to light,
> From one of Ida's nymphs begot; my native land
> Is red Marpessus, where Aidoneus flows,
> A country sacred to the mighty Ops."

Even at present there are ruins, in the Trojan mount Ida, of the city Marpessus; and it contains about sixty inhabitants. All the country about Marpessus is red, and very sultry. Hence it appears to me, that the reason why the river Aidoneus at one time hides itself in the earth, again emerges, and at last entirely disappears under ground, is to be ascribed to the attenuated and cavernous nature of mount Ida. Marpessus is distant from the Trojan city Alexandrea about two hundred and forty stadia. The inhabitants of Alexandrea say, that Herophile was the guardian of the temple of Apollo, and that she prophesied, in consequence of a dream of Hecuba, such things as I am very certain afterwards happened. This Sibyl dwelt the greatest part of her life in Samos: she likewise came to Delos and Delphos, in which last place she delivered her oracles on the stone which we have already mentioned.

She died in Troy: her sepulchre is in the grove of Smintheus: and on it there is a pillar with the following inscription:

I who am buried in this stone sepulchre
Am a Sibyl, a clear interpreter of the will
Of Phœbus:
I was once a vocal virgin, but am now for ever dumb:
And lie thus fettered, through the oppressive power
Of Fate.
I am however placed under the Nymphs and Mercury;
And it is from Apollo that I receive this
Destiny, as the reward of my ancient
Sacerdotal office.

Near her sepulchre there is a stone Mercury, of a quadrangular figure; and on the left hand there is water running into a receptacle, and near it there are statues of Nymphs. The Erithræi (for these people contend about Herophile the most eagerly of all the Greeks) show a mountain called Corycus, and in it a cavern, in which they say Herophile was born. They farther add, that her parents were a shepherd, Theodorus, a native of their country, and a nymph who was called Ida: and that the nymph was thus denominated for no other reason than because men at that time called places thick-planted with trees *Idai*. But the Erythræi do not rank among the oracles of Herophile the verse respecting Marpessus and the river Aidoneus. One Hyperochus, a Cumæan, writes, that after Herophile, a woman of Cuma, belonging to the Opici, used to deliver oracles in the same manner as Herophile, and that this woman was called Demo.

The Cumæans, however, cannot produce any oracles of Demo; but they show a stone water-pot in the temple of Apollo, in which, they say, the bones of this Sibyl are deposited. After Demo, the Hebrews beyond Palæstine rank among the number of prophetic women, Sabbe, whose father, they say, was Berosus, and whose mother was Erymanthe. Some, however, call this Sibyl a Babylonian, and others an Ægyptian. But Phaennis, who was the daughter of a man that reigned over the Chaones, and the

Peleæ among the Dodonæans, prophesied, indeed, from a divine power, but were not denominated Sibyls. As to the age and oracles of Phaennis, the former may be known by inquiry, and there is no difficulty in obtaining the latter: for she lived in those times in which Antiochus, having taken Demetrius prisoner, seized on his kingdom. But they say, that the Peleades were prior to Phemonoe, and were the first women that sang these verses:

"Jove was, Jove is, and will be, mighty Jove!
Earth gives us fruits, hence call on mother Earth."

They say, too, that the following prophetic men, Euclus the Cyprian, Musæus the Athenian and the son of Antiophemus, Lycus the son of Pandion, and Bacis from Bœotia, were inspired by nymphs. I have read all the oracles of these, except those of Lycus. And thus much concerning men and women, as far as to the present time, who are said to have prophesied from divine inspiration.

CHAPTER XIII.

But the brazen head of the Pæonian bull, called *Bison*, or *buff*, was sent to Delphos by Dropion, the son of Deon, and king of the Pœonians. These buffs are taken alive with more difficulty than any other wild beasts; for there are not any nets strong enough to hold them. They are, therefore, hunted in the following manner: The hunters choose a steep place, which terminates in a hollow. This place they first fortify with a strong inclosure: then they cover the steep, and the plain near the steep, with the hides of oxen recently slain; but if they have not a sufficiency of these, they lubricate old hides with oil. After this, very skilful horsemen drive the buffs into this inclosure, who,

falling through the slipperiness of the hides, are hurled headlong to the bottom of the plain. Here they leave them for four or five days, till they are debilitated by weariness and hunger, and are considerably tamed. Then those who are skilled in the art of taming these animals place before them, while they are lying in this weak condition, the fruit of a pine-nut, having first of all stripped it of the inward skin: for at that time the buffs do not desire any other food. And, last of all, they bind them, and bring them away from the hollow. Opposite to the brazen head of the Bison there is a statue, which is invested with a coat of mail, and a robe over it. The Delphi say, that this was dedicated by the Andrii, and that it is the statue of Andreus, by whom they were colonised. Here, too, there are statues of Minerva and Diana, which were dedicated by the Phocenses, for having conquered the Thessalians, their perpetual enemies, and those who border on their dominions, except in that part in which they are separated from Phocis by the intervention of the Locrian Hypocnemidii. The Thessalians, likewise, at Pharsalus, and the Macedonians who inhabit the city Dios, under Pieria, and the Grecian Cyrenæans in Libya, have sent sacred offerings to this temple. For these last dedicated a chariot, in which Ammon stands: but the Diatæ dedicated an Apollo, laying hold of a stag: and the Pharsalians an Achilles on horseback. The Corinthians, too, who are ranked among the Dorienses, built a treasury: and in this they deposited the gold which they received from the Lydians. But the statue of Hercules is the gift of the Thebans, in consequence of that war with the Phocenses which is called *sacred*.

Here, likewise, there are brazen images which the Phocenses dedicated, when in a second engagement they vanquished the Thessalian horse. The Phliasians, too, sent a brazen Jupiter to Delphos; and, together with Jupiter, an

image of Ægina. The Mantineans, from Arcadia, dedicated a brazen Apollo, which is not far from the treasury of the Corinthians. Hercules and Apollo hold a tripod, and are on the point of fighting with each other for its possession: but Latona and Diana appease the anger of Apollo, and Minerva that of Hercules. This, too, was the gift of the Phocenses, which they dedicated at that time, when the Elean Tellias led the Thessalians against them. The other statues were made in common by Diyllus and Amyclæus; but Minerva and Diana were made by Chion. They say that these artists were Corinthians. The Delphi, too, report, that, when Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, came to this oracle, the prophet Xenocleas was unwilling to give him an answer to his interrogation, because he was polluted with the slaughter of Iphitus; but that Hercules took up the tripod, and carried it out of the temple; upon which the prophet said: "This is a Tirynthian Hercules, and not Canobeus." For prior to this an Egyptian Hercules came to Delphos. But then the son of Amphitryon restored the tripod to Apollo, and was instructed by Xenocleas in whatever he was desirous of learning. And it is from this circumstance that poets have taken occasion to sing of the contest between Hercules and Apollo for a tripod. A golden tripod, supported by a dragon of brass, was the gift of the Greeks in common, for the victory gained at Platæa. And even at present the brazen part of this offering remains entire; but the golden part was taken away by the Phocensian commanders. The Tarentines also sent to Delphos another tenth of the spoils taken from a barbarous people, called the Peucetii. And these offerings were made by Onatas Æginetes and Calynthus. They consist of images of men on foot and on horseback. Opis, king of the Iapyges, is represented giving assistance to the Peucetii; and resembles a person dying in the engagement. Those that stand near

him are, the hero Taras, and the Lacedæmonian Phalanthus: and not far from Phalanthus there is a dolphin. For before he came into Italy, he was shipwrecked in the Crissæan sea, and was, they say, brought on shore by a dolphin.

CHAPTER XIV.

But the battle-axes which are dedicated here were the gift of Periclytus, the son of Euthymachus, the Tenedian. An ancient story assigns the reason of their being dedicated. This story informs us, that Cycnus was the son of Neptune, and that he reigned in Colonæ, a Trojan town which is situated near the island Leucophrys. This Cycnus had a daughter, whose name was Hemithea, and a son named Tennes, by Proclea, the daughter of Clytius, and the sister of Caletor, who, as we are informed by Homer in the Iliad, was slain by Ajax, because he brought fire to the ship of Protesilaus. On the death of Proclea, Cycnus married Philonome, the daughter of Craugasus, who, falling in love with her son-in-law, Tennes, and being repulsed by him, falsely accused him to her husband of endeavouring to have connexion with her against her will. Cycnus, becoming the dupe of her deception, shut up Tennes and his sister in a chest, and threw them into the sea. They were, however, carried with safety to the island Leucophrys, which is now denominated Tenedos, from Tennes. But Cycnus, having in process of time discovered the fraudulent conduct of his wife, sailed in search of his son, in order that he might justify himself, by pleading in his defence that he was ignorant of his wife's artifice, and beg pardon for the deed. When, therefore, he drove to the island Leucophrys, and had fastened his vessel either to a stone, or a trunk of a tree, Tennes, impelled by anger, slew him with a battle-ax. And

hence it came to be a proverbial saying, when any one resolutely denied complying with the request of another, that he cut him down with a Tenedian battle-ax. The Greeks ay that Tennes was slain by Achilles, as he was making depredations on this island. But the Tenedii in process of time joined themselves to the Trojan Alexandreans, through the imbecility of their affairs.

The Greeks, too, who warred against the Persians, dedicated in Olympia a brazen Jupiter, and in Delphos an Apollo, for the naval victory which they obtained at Artemisium and Salamis. It is also said, that Themistocles, when he came to Delphos, dedicated to Apollo the spoils of the Medes; and that, on his inquiring whether he might place these gifts within the temple, the Pythian priestess ordered him to carry them entirely away from the temple. But the oracle which she gave him respecting this was as follows: "Place not in my temple the beautiful spoils of the Persians, but swiftly carry them to your own habitation." It is certainly a wonderful circumstance, that the god should alone reject the spoils of the Medes, which were presented by Themistocles. Some, however, are of opinion, that all the Persian spoils would have been rejected, if, like Themistocles, they had first interrogated Apollo whether he would accept them. Others, again, say, that as Apollo foreknew Themistocles would become a suppliant to the Persians, he was unwilling to receive their spoils, lest the Persians, through hatred of the donor, should reject his supplications. You may find this irruption of the Barbarians into Greece predicted in the oracles of Bacis: and, still prior to these, verses respecting this affair were published by Euclus. There is a brazen wolf, too, near the greatest altar in this temple, which was dedicated by the Delphi themselves. They say, that a certain man, having stolen some of the riches of the god, hid himself, with the sacred treasure, in that part of Parnassus in which there was the greatest

quantity of wild trees; that a wolf attacked and slew this man as he was asleep, and afterwards used to run into the city howling every day. That the inhabitants, considering this circumstance could not happen without the interference of a divine power, followed the wolf, found the sacred gold, and dedicated a brazen wolf, in consequence of this, to the god. The golden statue of Phryne here was made by Praxiteles, who was one of her lovers; but the statue was dedicated by Phryne.

CHAPTER XV.

THE offerings which follow this are two statues of Apollo, one of which was dedicated by the Epidaurians, in the borders of the Argives, from the spoils of the Medes; and the other was dedicated by the Megarenses, in consequence of having conquered the Athenians at Nissæa. But the ox which was dedicated here by the Platæenses, is an offering for having, in conjunction with the other Greeks, revenged themselves in their own dominions on Mardonius, the son of Gobrias. After this, there are again two statues of Apollo, one of which was dedicated by the Heracleotæ, near the Euxine sea, and the other by the Amphictyons, from a fine which they levied on the Phocenses for cultivating the land sacred to the god. This Apollo is called by the Delphi *Sitalcas*, and is thirty-five cubits in magnitude. Here, too, there are many statues of commanders. There are, besides, statues of Diana and Minerva, and two of Apollo, which were dedicated by the Ætolians when they vanquished the Gauls. Phaennis, indeed, in her oracles, predicted that the army of the Celtæ would pass over from Europe into Asia, and prove the destruction of Asiatic cities, one age prior to the accomplishment of her prediction: "Then, indeed, the pernicious army of the Celtæ, having

passed over the narrow sea of the Hellespont, shall play on the flute, and, in *a lawless manner*, depopulate Asia. But divinity will still more severely afflict those that dwell near the sea. However, in a short time after, Jupiter will send them a defender, the beloved son of a Jove-nourished bull, who will bring destruction on all the Gauls."

Phaennis, in this oracle, means by the son of a bull, Attalus, king of Pergâmus, whom the oracle of Apollo called *Taurokeroos*, or bull-horned. The generals of the horse, who are themselves seated on horseback, were dedicated by the Pheræi for having vanquished the Athenian horse. But the Athenians dedicated the brazen palm, with the gilt statue of Minerva, in consequence of having gained, in one and the same day, a victory by land near Eurymedon, and by sea in the same river. When I saw that the gold was plucked from this statue in many places, I threw the blame on the sacrilegious; but I found afterwards, in the account of the Attic affairs by Clitodemus, that, when the Athenians had prepared themselves for the Sicilian expedition, an immense number of crows came at that time to Delphos, and tore away the gold of the statue with their beaks. The same historian adds, that these crows tore off the spear, the owls, and all that was carved in the palm-tree, in imitation of ripe fruit. Clitodemus, too, relates other prodigies, which were sent in order to deter the Athenians from that expedition. The Cyrenæi, too, dedicated in Delphos a statue of Battus in a chariot, because he brought them by sea from Thera to Libya. In this chariot the nymph Libye crowns Battus: and this offering was made by the Gnossian Amphion, the son of Acestor. When Battus built Cyrene, he is said to have obtained the following remedy for his defect of speech. As the Cyrenæans were travelling through Africa, and were yet in the deserts situated in its extremities, Battus beheld a lion, and through the terror which the sight of the beast produced in him, he was compelled to cry out

with a clear and loud voice. Not far from the statue of Battus there is another statue of Apollo, which was dedicated by the Amphictyons out of the money which the Phocenses were fined for their impiety to Apollo.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of all the offerings, however, which the Lydian kings sent to Apollo, nothing at present remains, except the iron basis of the bowl of Halyattes. This was made by Glaucus, the Chian, who first discovered the art of soldering iron. Indeed, the junctures of this basis are not formed from any clasps or nails, but from solder alone. The form of the basis, for the most part, resembles that of a tower, and rises from an acute bottom to a broad top. Each of its sides is covered throughout, but is begirt with transverse zones of iron like the steps in a ladder. Straight and ductile lamina of iron are bent in their extremities outwards: and this was the seat of the bowl. But that which is called by the Delphi the navel, and which is made of white stone, is, as they say, the middle point of the whole earth. And Pindar, in one of his odes, speaks in conformity to this opinion. Here, too, there is an offering of the Lacedæmonians, viz. Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, who was married to Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, and prior to this to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. This was made by Calamis. The Ætolians, likewise, dedicated in this temple a statue of Eurydamus, who was their commander when they fought against the Gauls. In the mountains of Crete the city Elyros yet exists. This city sent a brazen goat to Apollo, which is represented suckling Phylacis and Phylander. The Elyrians say, that these were the sons of Apollo and the nymph Acacallis; and that Apollo had connexion with her in the

city Tarrha, and in the house of Carmanor. But the Carystii, from Eubœa, sent a brazen ox to Apollo, for having gained a victory over the Persians.

Both the Carystii and Platæenses, indeed, dedicated oxen, as it appears to me, because, having expelled the Barbarians from Greece, they obtained, in other respects, a stable degree of property, and were enabled to cultivate a free land. The Ætolians dedicated the images of their commanders, and, together with these, Apollo and Diana, in consequence of having conquered their neighbours the Acarnanes. What the Liparæans relate of themselves, with respect to the Tyrrheni, is most absurd. For they say, that the Pythian deity having ordered them to engage the Tyrrheni with a very small fleet of ships, they, on the contrary, drew out against them five three-oared galleys. That the Tyrrheni, considering themselves as not inferior in naval strength and skill to the Liparæans, attacked them with an equal number of ships. But when the Liparæans took the five galleys of the Tyrrheni, the Tyrrheni attacked them a second, third, and fourth time, with the like number of vessels. All these, however, were taken by the Liparæans, who, in consequence of this victory, sent as many statues of Apollo to Delphos as the number of the ships which they had captured amounted to. Echecratides, too, a Larissæan, dedicated a small Apollo: and the Delphi say, that this was dedicated the first of all the offerings.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Barbarians that inhabit Sardinia towards the west, sent to this temple a brazen statue of him from whom they were denominated. Sardinia, for its magnitude and prosperous condition, may be compared with the most celebrated islands. I do not know what this island was formerly called

by the inhabitants; but those Grecians that sail to it for commercial purposes call it *Ichnussa, because its form resembles the impression of a man's foot.* The length of this island is about six hundred and twenty, and its breadth four hundred and twenty stadia. The Libyans are said to have been the first that sailed to this island, under the command of Sardus, the son of Maceris, who was surnamed Hercules by the Ægyptians and Libyans. Nothing more remarkable is related of the father of Sardus, Maceris, than that he once came to Delphos. Sardus brought a colony of Libyans to Ichnussa; and hence the island came to be called after the name of Sardus. This colony of Libyans did not exterminate the natives. The natives, however, associated with the new inhabitants more through necessity than regard. The Libyans, too, at that time, were as ignorant in the art of building cities as the native inhabitants of this island: and hence they dwelt in straggling cottages, and in caverns. Some years after the Libyans had settled here, those Grecians that followed Aristæus came into this island. They say, that Aristæus was the son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene, and that having bitterly lamented the misfortune of Actæon, and being hated by Bœotia and all Greece, he migrated to Sardinia. Some, too, are of opinion, that Dædalus fled at the same time through fear of the Cretan arms, and that he assisted Aristæus in bringing a colony into Sardinia. There is, however, no probability that Dædalus could be the companion of Aristæus, either in establishing a colony, or in any other undertaking, as Aristæus was married to Autonoe, the daughter of Cadmus, and Dædalus was contemporary with Oedipus, king of Thebes.

Aristæus, however, and the Grecians that followed him, did not build any city, because, as it appears to me, they were neither numerous nor strong enough for this purpose. After Aristæus, the Iberi passed over into Sardinia, under

the command of Norax, and built a city which they called Nora. They say, that this city was the first that was built in this island; and that Norax was the son of Mercury by Erythea, the daughter of Geryon. A fourth band, composed of Thespians and inhabitants of the Attic land, came to Sardinia, under the command of Iolaus. These built the city Olbia, which is also called Ogrylle, either after the name of some one of the Attic towns, or because Gryllus partook of this expedition. Even at present, therefore, there are certain places in Sardinia which are called Iolaii; and Iolaus is honoured by the inhabitants. After the destruction of Troy, others of the Trojans saved themselves by flight, as well as the followers of Æneas. Of these one part was driven by tempests to Sardinia, and became mingled with the Greeks that resided there prior to this circumstance. But the Barbarians were prevented from warring on the Greeks and Trojans, because there was an equality on both sides in all warlike preparations, and the river Thorsus, which flows through the middle of the island, was a barrier to the junction of the two parties. Many years after this, the Libyans came with a greater fleet to Sardinia, and attacking the Greeks that dwelt there, either slew them all, or, at least, left but a very few alive. But the Trojans, on this occasion, fled to the elevated parts of the island, and entrenching themselves in mountains, difficult of access through their ruggedness and the hanging rocks with which they were surrounded, are even at present called Ilienses. They are, however, in their form, the apparatus of their arms, and their manner of living, like the Africans. Not far from Sardinia there is an island called by the Greeks Cyrnos, but by the Libyans that inhabit it Corsica. No small part of the inhabitants of this island being incited to sedition, passed over to Sardinia, and, having seized on the mountains, fixed their residence in them. These, by the inhabitants of Sardinia, are denominated, from their founder,

Corsi. But the Carthaginians, as they were very powerful by sea, drove out all the inhabitants from Sardinia, except the Ilienses and Corsi: for steep and fortified mountains prevented them from subduing these.

The Carthaginians built in this island two cities, Carnalis and Sylli: but a dispute arising concerning the spoil, the Libyans and Spaniards revolted from the Carthaginians, and settled themselves in the elevated parts of the island. The Corsi call these people, in their native tongue, *Balaroi;* for thus they denominate exiles. And such are the nations which inhabit Sardinia, and such the cities into which it is divided. But those parts of the island which are situated towards the north, and the coast of Italy, are nothing but mountains, difficult of access, and whose summits are conjoined with each other. These parts, however, afford a very good harbour for ships; and strong and irregular winds rush from the tops of the neighbouring mountains into the sea. In the middle of the island, too, there are less elevated mountains; but the air in this part is very turbid and noxious. The reason of this is, the salt which becomes concreted here, and the heavy and violent south wind, which blows from these mountains. The northern winds, too, through the loftiness of the mountains towards the Italian coast, are prevented from refrigerating the ground and the air in summer. Others are of opinion, that the island Corsica, which is separated from Sardinia by not more than eight stadia of sea, and which is on all sides mountainous and elevated, prevents the west and north winds from reaching as far as Sardinia. But neither serpents, destructive to mankind, nor such as are harmless, nor wolves, are produced in this island. And as to the goats which it contains, they are not larger than those in other places, and they resemble, in their form, the ram which may be seen in the plastic productions of Ægineæas. About the breast, however, they are more hairy: and the horns on their head are not se-

parated from each other, but are, from their roots, bent back towards their ears. In swiftness, too, they surpass all wild beasts. This same island is likewise free from all kinds of poisonous and deadly herbs, excepting one herb, which resembles parsley, and which, they say, causes those who eat it to die laughing. From this circumstance, Homer first, and others after him, call laughter, which conceals some noxious design, *Sardonian*. This herb is mostly produced about fountains; but yet it does not communicate its poisonous quality to the water. And thus much concerning Sardinia, which we have inserted into our account of the Phocensian affairs, because the Greeks have a very inconsiderable knowledge of this island.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A HORSE stands next to the statue of Sardus, which Callias, the Athenian, and the son of Lysimachides, says he dedicated out of the money which he acquired from the Persian war. The Achaians, too, dedicated a statue of Minerva, when they took an Ætolian city called Phana. As the siege of this city continued for no small length of time, and it appeared at length impossible to take it, they sent *Speculators* (*theoroi*) to Delphos, who brought back the following oracle: "Inhabitants of the land of Pelops, and the Achaians, you are come hither in order to inquire by what means a city may be taken. Attend, therefore, to my words: Observe, how much those that guard the walls drink every day; for by this means you shall take the turreted city Phana." As they were unable to comprehend the meaning of this oracle, they determined to give over the siege, and return home. Those, too, within the walls made no account of the enemy; and hence a certain woman left

the walls in order to draw water from a neighbouring fountain. A band of soldiers, however, took her prisoner, and brought her to their camps. From her the Achaians learnt, that the inhabitants of the town used to distribute, every night, the water of that fountain to each other, and that this was the only water they had to drink. In consequence of this information, the Achaians closed up the fountain with earth piled over it, and by this means took the city. The Rhodians, too, in Lindum, dedicated a statue of Apollo, which stands near this statue of Minerva. The Ambraciotæ, likewise, dedicated a brazen ass, in consequence of having vanquished the Molossi in a nocturnal engagement. For the Molossi having laid an ambush for the Ambraciotæ in the night, an ass, who happened at that time to be driven from the fields to the town, attacked a female of his own species with a considerable degree of wantonness. This occasioned him to bray very loud; and the driver of the ass, at the same time, calling to him with an indistinct and rough voice, produced such a dread in the Molossi that they immediately abandoned their enterprise. But the Ambraciotæ, having detected their stratagem, attacked and vanquished them in the night.

The Orneatæ, too, who form a part of the Argives, when they were vanquished by the Sicyonians in battle, made a vow to Apollo, that, if by repelling the enemy they were able to free their country from danger, they would send every day a solemn procession to Delphos, and immolate a certain number of victims. However, after they had conquered the Sicyonians, and in consequence of this sent every day a solemn procession to the god, according to their vow, they found the expense to be prodigious, and the fatigue attending it greater than the cost. Hence they devised a subtle mode of accomplishing their vow, and this was by dedicating a brazen sacrifice and procession to Apollo. Here, too, there is a representation of the achievement of Hercules respecting

the hydra, which was both dedicated and made by Tisagoras. As well Hercules as the hydra is of iron. To make statues, indeed, of iron, is a thing of the most difficult and laborious nature: but this work of Tisagoras, whoever he was, is really admirable. In Pergamus, likewise, there are iron heads of a lion and a boar, dedicated to Bacchus, which demand no small degree of admiration. The Phocians that inhabit Elatea, being freed from the siege of their city by Cassander (Olympiodorus, who was sent by the Athenians for this purpose, giving them assistance), dedicated to the Delphic Apollo a brazen lion. But the statue of Apollo, which stands very near this lion, was made out of the tenth of the spoils which the Massilienses took from the Carthaginians, when they vanquished them in a naval engagement. The Ætolians dedicated here a trophy, and a statue of an armed woman (viz. Ætolia); and this out of the money which they took from the Gauls, for their cruelty to the Callienses. The golden image in this temple was dedicated by Gorgias, the Leontine, and is an image of Gorgias himself.

CHAPTER XIX.

Near the statue of Gorgias is the Scionean Scyllis, who was renowned for being able to descend into the most profound parts of every sea. He taught his daughter Cyana this art of diving. Both of them, therefore, when the fleet of Xerxes was tossed about by a violent tempest near mount Pelion, brought destruction on the three-oared galleys of the Persians, by cutting away the ropes that held the anchors, or any thing else that fastened the ships under water. Hence, in memorial of this achievement, the Amphictyons dedicated his statue, and that of his daughter. Among the statues which Nero took from Delphos, was the statue of Cyana.

Women, while they are yet pure virgins, are said to descend with safety into the sea. But here it is proper that I should relate what is reported of Lesbos. Certain Methymnæan fishermen drew up out of the sea, in their nets, a head made from the olive-tree. This head seemed to have something divine in its form, but such as was foreign, and not agreeable to the figure of the Grecian gods. The Methymnæans, therefore, inquired of the Pythian deity, of what god or hero this head was the image, and received for answer that they should venerate Bacchus Cephallen. Hence the Methymnæans kept the wooden head which they drew out of the sea, venerated it with sacrifices and prayers, and sent a brazen image instead of it to Delphos. In the roof of the temple there are Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, the setting Sun, Bacchus, and the women who are called Thyades. The faces of all these were made by the Athenian Praxias, the disciple of Calamis. For Praxias dying before the temple was finished, the remaining parts of the ornaments of the roof were the work of Androsthenes, who was an Athenian, and the disciple of Eucadmus. Golden arms are fixed on the tops of the columns. Of these the Athenians dedicated the shields in consequence of the victory which they gained at Marathon. The spoils of the Gauls, which are in the back part of the temple, and on the left hand, were dedicated by the Ætolians. The form of these shields very much resembles that of the wicker-shields of the Persians, which are called *Gerrha*.

In our account of the Attic Bouleuterion, we mentioned the irruption of the Gauls into Greece; but I have thought proper, in this description of the Delphic affairs, to relate the particulars of this irruption more explicitly, because the Greeks, in this engagement against the Barbarians, exerted themselves in a most eminent degree. The Gauls then marched out of their own dominions the first time, under the command of Cambaules; and proceeding as far as to Thrace,

had not the boldness to advance beyond it, because they well knew that they were but few in number, and on this account not able to contend with the forces of the Greeks. But when they thought fit to lead a second army beyond their own boundaries, those that had before followed Cambaules, being incited by a desire of gain and depredation, of which they had now tasted, collected together a great multitude of foot soldiers, and of horse a considerable number. After this, the commanders divided their army into three parts; and each part was ordered to march into a different country. Cerethrius, therefore, was destined to invade Thrace, and the nation of the Triballi. Brennus and Acichorus led those that marched into Pannonia: and Bolgius was the commander of those that attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians. This Bolgius fought against Ptolemy, king of the Macedonians, who slew by stratagem Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, whose protection, at the same time, he suppliantly implored, and who, from his prodigious audacity, was called *Thunder*. Ptolemy, however, fell in this engagement, and, together with him, no small part of the Macedonians. But as the Gauls, at that time, had not the boldness to proceed any farther into Greece, they shortly after returned into their own dominions.

Brennus, after this, earnestly solicited the general assemblies of the Gauls, and the principal persons of the Gallic nation, to war upon the Greeks, who, he said, were inferior to them in courage, and, at that time, in an imbecile condition. He likewise reminded them of the great wealth which the Greeks had amassed, of the numerous offerings in their temples, and of their gold and silver ornaments. By this means he persuaded the Gauls to attack the Greeks, and joined to himself both other principal persons of that nation and Acichorus. The Gallic army, in this third expedition, consisted of one hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and twenty thousand four hundred horse: and both

horse and foot consisted of valiant soldiers. However, the true number of these forces was sixty-one thousand two hundred. For two servants followed each horseman, who were themselves good soldiers, and rode on horseback. These, when their masters were in the midst of an engagement, stood in the rear of the army, and if their masters happened to lose their horses, supplied them with fresh ones. When any master, too, fell, one of these servants fought in his stead; and if he likewise fell, there was a third ready to succeed him. If the master happened to be wounded, one of his servants immediately led him out of the field of battle, and the other filled up the place of his wounded master. It appears to me, that the Gauls adopted this plan in imitation of the Persians, who always have in their armies a select band of ten thousand men, whom they call the *immortals*. There is this difference, however, between the two, that the chosen band among the Persians attacks the enemy in the place of those that have been slain, after the engagement; but the Gauls order their select company to supply the place of the dead or wounded during the engagement. This mode of fighting they call, in their native tongue, Trimarcisias: for the name of a horse, with the Gauls, is Marcas. With such preparations, therefore, and with such conceptions, Brennus marched into Greece.

CHAPTER XX.

But the Greeks, though they were in a perfectly desponding condition, yet were impelled by the strength of fear to give the necessary assistance to their country. For they now clearly saw that the present contest was not for liberty, as it was formerly with the Persians; and that, if they should even give both land and water to the enemy,

they could not hope for security in future. They called to mind, too, the calamities which they endured through the Barbarians, when they formerly made incursions on the Macedonians, Thracians, and Pæonians; and had learnt, from report, how injuriously the Gauls had treated the Thessalians at that time. It was, therefore, the unanimous opinion, both of individuals and cities, that they must either perish, or subdue the enemy. Any one who is so disposed, may easily enumerate those Grecian cities which opposed Xerxes at Thermopylæ, and those which took up arms against the Gauls. For the Greeks that marched against the Mede were these: The Lacedæmonians, who were not more than three hundred, under the command of Leonidas; five hundred of the Tegeatæ, and as many from Mantinea. One hundred and twenty Orchomenians were sent from Arcadia; a thousand from the other cities of Arcadia; eighty from Mycena; and two hundred from Phlius. The Corinthians sent twice this number. There were seven hundred from Bœotia; and from Thespia and Thebes four hundred. Five hundred of the Phocenses guarded the passages of mount Oeta. And such was the number of the forces that assembled on this occasion, according to the general opinion of the Greeks. For Herodotus does not mention the number of the Locrians, who live under the mountain Cnemis; but only says, that the Greeks assembled together from all their cities on this occasion. We may, however, conjecture the number of these very near the truth. For the Athenians, in the battle at Marathon, opposed the enemy with not more than nine thousand men, in which those, whose age rendered them useless for the purposes of war, and servants, were ranked. It follows, therefore, that the band of Locrians, which came to Thermopylæ, could not, at the most, amount to more than six thousand men. And hence the whole army must have amounted to eleven thousand two hundred men.

But it appears, that some of those who guarded the Thermopylæ left their station. For, indeed, none but the Lacedæmonians, Thespians, and Mycenæans waited the event of the war. Again, the following Grecian cities sent a guard to Thermopylæ against the Barbarians, who marched an army from the extremities of the ocean against Greece. The Bœotians sent ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers, and five hundred horse. These were under the command of four leaders called Bœotarchs, viz. Cephissodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes, and Lysander. The Phocenses sent five hundred horse and three thousand foot, and these were commanded by Critobulus and Antiochus. Midias led seven hundred foot soldiers of the Locrians, near the island Atalanta: but these people had not any equestrian forces. Four hundred heavy-armed foot were sent by the Megarenses: and Megareus led the horse of these people. But the forces of the Ætolians both surpassed the rest in number and in warlike skill. The number of their horse is not known; but that of their heavy-armed foot was seven thousand, and of their light-armed ninety. These were commanded by Polyarchus, Polyphron, and Lacrates. Calippus, the son of Moerocles, led the forces of the Athenians, as I have before shown. These forces consisted, in the first place, of all the three-oared galleys which could be procured; in the next place of five hundred horse; and, in the third place, of a thousand foot. The Athenians, too, on account of their ancient dignity, had the command of all these forces.

Kings, too, sent mercenary troops: and of these five hundred came from Macedonia, and as many from Asia. Aristodemus, the Macedonian, was sent as a commander of the auxiliary forces by king Antigonus; and Telesarchus, who belonged to the Syrians, near the river Orontes, was sent as a commander by Antiochus from Asia. These forces being assembled at Thermopylæ, as soon as it was known that the army of the Gauls had fixed their camps in the

borders of Magnesia and Phthiotis, they sent a thousand light-armed soldiers, and a chosen body of horse, to the river Sperchius, that the Barbarians might not pass over the river without fighting their way, and being exposed to the danger of a defeat. These forces, therefore, when they came to the Sperchius, destroyed the bridges which the Gauls had raised on it, and fixed their camps on the banks of the river. Brennus, indeed, was not unskilled in warlike affairs, but, for a Barbarian, sufficiently acute, and experienced in the stratagems of war. On the following night, therefore, leaving that part of the river on which he had raised the bridges, he sent ten thousand soldiers, who were skilled in swimming, and remarkably tall (for the Gauls in general surpass other men in stature) to the lower parts of the river, that the Greeks might not perceive them as they were passing over; and, besides this, he knew that the river in this part spread itself widely over the plains, and produced a marsh and lake instead of a strong and narrow stream. In the night, therefore, his forces swam over the marshy part of the river, some of them using their shields, which they call *thureoi*, for rafts, while others, who were taller than the rest, waded through with their feet. The Greeks, on the banks of the Sperchius, as soon as they understood that the Barbarians had passed over the marshy part of the river, immediately marched back to their army.

CHAPTER XXI.

Brennus, after this, ordered the inhabitants near the bay of Maliacus to join the Sperchius by a bridge. This they accomplished with great celerity, both through fear of Brennus, and through the desire of hastening the departure of the Barbarians, as there was reason to expect they would

greatly injure them if they staid long in these parts. Brennus, therefore, as soon as he had passed over the river by bridges, led his army to Heraclea, depopulated the country, and slew the men that he found in the fields. He did not, however, take the city, because, in the year prior to this event, the Ætolians compelled the Heracleotæ to become a part of their dominions, and, in consequence of this, defended their city at that time with great alacrity, considering it as a place which belonged to themselves as much as to the Heracleotæ. But Brennus did not bestow much pains in endeavouring to take this city, but employed himself principally in taking care to prevent those who guarded the walls of Heraclea from hindering his march to that part of Greece which is within Thermopylæ. Leaving, therefore, Heraclea, and learning, from certain fugitives, the number of the forces which had assembled from the several cities of Greece, he despised the Grecian army, and determined to come to an engagement on the following day at sunrise; *neither employing any Grecian prophet, nor performing any of the sacred ceremonies of his own country*, if, indeed, the Gauls knew any thing of the divining art. The Greeks drew up in order of battle, with silence and great regularity. And, when the two armies came to a close engagement, the Grecian foot ran so far beyond their station, that they caused confusion in their own phalanx; but the light-armed troops, remaining in their proper ranks, discharged at the enemy their darts, arrows, and slings.

The horse in each army was perfectly useless, and this not only through the narrow passages of the mountain, which they call gates, but through the smoothness and slipperiness of the ground, from its rocky nature, and from frequent and abundant inundations of rivers. The armour of the Gauls, too, was inferior in strength to that of the Greeks; for they had no other defence for their bodies than those shields which they call *thureoi*: and, what was of still

greater consequence, the Gauls were far inferior in military experience to their enemies. However, in battle, they rushed on the Greeks with a degree of anger and fury resembling the attacks of wild beasts; so that their rage, while life remained, suffered no abatement, though they were maimed by the battle-ax, cut down with the sword, or pierced with arrows and darts. Some of them, too, when wounded, sent back the darts, which they tore from their wounds, on the Greeks, or pierced with these darts the Greeks that stood near them. In the meantime, the three-oared galleys of the Athenians could scarcely, and not without danger, discharge their missive weapons of every kind at the enemy, owing to their sailing through mud, because the river was at a great distance from the sea, and being obliged to bring their vessels very near the Barbarians. But the Gauls being wearied in a still greater degree than the Greeks, because, in those narrow passages, they were unable to accomplish any thing of importance, and suffering every inconvenience, were ordered by their commanders to retreat to their camps. This they began to put in execution in a very disordered and tumultuous manner, many of them rushing against each other; and many falling into the marsh, and disappearing, absorbed by the mud; so that they suffered no less a loss in retreating than in the vigour of the engagement.

On that day the valour of the Athenians transcended that of the other Greeks: and, of the Athenians, Cydias, who was quite a youth, and who had never been in an engagement before, gave specimens of superior courage. This youth being slain by the Gauls, his kindred dedicated his shield to Jupiter the Liberator, with this inscription:

"This shield, to Jove now sacred, yet desires
The blooming youth of Cydias famed:
On his left arm this shield he bravely fix'd,
When Mars impetuous tamed the Gauls."

This inscription remained till the soldiers of Sylla took the

shield from the porch of Jupiter the Liberator, together with other offerings of the Athenians. And such was the battle at the Thermopylæ. But on the next day the Greeks buried their dead, and took away the armour of the Barbarians that fell in the engagement. The Gauls, however, did not demand any truce that they might bury their dead; and plainly evinced that they considered it as a matter of no consequence whether the bodies of the slain were buried in the ground, or torn in pieces by such wild beasts and birds as fight with each other for the bodies of the dead. It appears to me, that a twofold reason may be assigned why they are thus careless as to the interment of the slain; a desire of terrifying their enemies by this specimen of their ferocity, and their want of commiseration for the dead. In this engagement forty of the Greeks fell; but the number of the Barbarians that were slain cannot be accurately ascertained, because many of them were swallowed up in the mud.

CHAPTER XXII.

On the seventh day after the battle, a part of the Gallic army endeavoured to ascend the mountain Oeta, in that part of it which is near Heraclea. But the path here was very narrow, beyond which were the ruins of Trachis; and beyond Trachis there was a temple of Minerva, which contained sacred offerings. The Gauls, however, hoped they should be able to ascend Oeta through this narrow path, and, at the same time, plunder the temple of Minerva. That guard, however, which was under the command of Telesarchus vanquished the Barbarians, though Telesarchus himself fell in the engagement, a man remarkably zealous in the cause of Greece. But when the other commanders of the Barbarians were terrified by the valour of the Greeks,

and began to despair of success in future, as they saw that all their present undertakings were adverse, Brennus considered, that, if he could but force the Ætolians to return home, he should easily finish his war on the Greeks. Having, therefore, chosen forty thousand foot and eight hundred horse out of his whole army, he gave the command of these forces to Orestorius and Combutis, and ordered them, first of all, to pass into Thessaly, over the bridges of the Sperchius, and afterwards invade Ætolia. *These two commanders, Orestorius and Combutis, acted towards the Callienses in a manner the most impious we ever heard of, and, at the same time, in no respect similar to the daring wickedness of men. For they slew all the males in the city, young as well as old, together with infants at their mothers' breasts; and drank the blood and ate the flesh of such infants as the nutriment of milk had rendered in a more thriving condition. On this occasion, such women and virgins, in the flower of their age, as were of a superior courage, destroyed themselves; but the Barbarians treated such as survived with the utmost insolence and violence, as being a nation naturally incapable of pity, and averse to love.*

Many, indeed, of these women voluntarily rushed on the swords of the Gauls. Others, again, not long after, died through hunger and wakefulness, in consequence of the insolence and violence of the Barbarians, who sometimes satisfied their lust on the bodies of the dying, and sometimes on the bodies of the dead. But the Ætolians, having learnt from certain messengers the calamities which had befallen their country, immediately, with all possible celerity, led back their forces from Thermopylæ to Ætolia; being enraged at the sufferings of the Callienses, and desiring to save those cities which had not yet experienced the fury of the barbarous enemy. All that were of an age capable of bearing arms came into the camps of the Ætolians, from all their cities; and with these old men were mingled, who

were impelled both by necessity and their pristine courage. The women, too, who were more enraged against the Gauls than the men, voluntarily took arms against them. But the Barbarians, as soon as they had plundered the houses and temples, and had set the city Callion on fire, returned the same way as they came to their own people; and the Patrenses alone, of all the Achaians that assisted the Ætolians, opposed the Barbarians with their armed forces, in the use of which they were very skilful. However, they were greatly oppressed, both by the multitude of the Gauls, and despair of success. But then the Ætolians, both men and women, placing themselves in every part of the road, pierced the Gauls with their darts, which it was no difficult matter to accomplish, because the Barbarians had no other defence than that of their *thureoi*. At the same time, they easily avoided the Gauls, when they were pursued by them; and, when the Gauls abandoned the pursuit, again eagerly attacked them. Indeed, the Callienses, though the injuries which they sustained from the Gauls were so great, that what Homer asserts of the Læstrygons and Cyclops ought not to be reckoned fabulous, were, at the same time, justly revenged on their enemies. For out of that great multitude of Gauls, which amounted to forty thousand eight hundred men, scarcely the half escaped to the camps at Thermopylæ.

But the transactions of the Greeks at Thermopylæ, at the same time, were as follow; There are two paths through the mountain Oeta: one of these, which is above Trachis, is very craggy and steep; but the other, which is through Ænianæ, may be easily passed by foot soldiers. It was through this that the Mede Hydarnes once led his forces, and came behind the Greeks that were commanded by Leonidas. They understood that the Heracleotæ and Ænianæ were leading Brennus through this path, not from any malevolence to the Greeks, but in consequence of being convinced that it would be a great undertaking if they could induce the Barbarians

to leave their country before it was ruined. Hence Pindar appears to me to have spoken truly, when he says, that every one feels the weight of his own calamities, but is not affected with the sufferings of others. At that time, therefore, the promise of the Ænianæ and Heracleotæ roused the courage of Brennus, who, leaving Acichorius in his camps, and informing him that it would be proper for him to attack the enemy when he was certain that he was assaulting them behind with a chosen band of forty thousand men, marched through the mountain Oeta. It happened, however, on that day, that the mountain was covered with such a thick mist, that the sun was darkened, so that the Phocenses, who guarded that passage of the mountain, did not perceive the Barbarians till they were quite near them. Hence some began to engage the Gauls, and others strenuously sustained their attacks; but being at length vanquished, they were compelled to abandon their post. With great celerity, therefore, before Greece was entirely surrounded by the Gauls, they returned to their allies, and informed them of the impending danger. The Athenians immediately, on this information, received into their galleys the Grecian forces at Thermopylæ, who afterwards returned to their respective countries.

CHAPTER XXIII.

But Brennus, waiting no longer than till Acichorius with his forces came from the camp, marched, as soon as he joined him, to Delphos. The inhabitants, on this occasion, fled to the oracle: and the god ordered them to lay aside their fear, and promised them that he would defend his own. The Grecian cities that fought on this occasion, in order to take vengeance on the enemies of the god, were these: The Phocenses from all their cities; four hundred heavy-armed

soldiers from Amphissa. From the Ætolians a few only assembled at first, when they were told of the march of the Barbarians, but afterwards Philomelus led one thousand two hundred. Of the Ætolians, such as were the most vigorous turned themselves to the army of Acichorius. They did not, however, come to any engagement with the Gauls, but molested the rear of their army, as they were marching, plundered their baggage, and slew those that defended it. And by this means the march of the Barbarians was impeded. But Acichorius left a part of his forces at Heraclea, for the purpose of defending the riches in his camp. The army of Brennus, therefore, was opposed by the Greeks that assembled together at Delphos. And the god at this time showed that he was adverse to the Barbarians, by prodigies the most conspicuous of any that we are acquainted with. For all that part of the earth which was occupied by the army of the Gauls, was violently shaken for the greater part of the day, and this was accompanied with continued thunder and lightning. The Gauls, in consequence of this, were greatly terrified, and rendered incapable of hearing the orders of their commanders. The lightning, too, that destroyed any individual, burnt, at the same time, those that were near him, together with their arms. Besides all this, the spectres of heroes were then seen—Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhus; and the fourth of these, according to the Delphi, was Phylacus, who was a native of their city.

In this engagement, however, many of the Phocenses fell, and among these Aleximachus, who, in the vigour of his age, the strength of his body, and the ardour of his zeal, surpassed all the Greeks. The Phocenses, afterwards, sent his image to Apollo at Delphos. And such was the terror and slaughter to which the Gauls were exposed in the day-time; but during the night they suffered still more severely. For the weather was vehemently cold, and this was accompanied with snow. Large stones, too, and fragments of

rocks, torn from Parnassus, fell on the Barbarians, as the destined mark at which they aimed. Nor was it only one or two that died by this means; but thirty, or still more, as they stood upon guard, or slept in the same place, were at once dashed in pieces by the falling rocks. As soon as it was day, too, the Greeks poured out of Delphos; and of these some marched in a direct line to the army of the enemy; but the Phocenses, as being better acquainted with the nature of the place, descended through the snow down the precipices of Parnassus, and, attacking the Gauls behind, pierced the Barbarians with their darts and arrows in perfect security. But, when the two armies began to engage, the soldiers about Brennus, as they were the tallest and strongest of the Gauls, vigorously resisted the Greeks: and, though darts were hurled at them on all sides, and they suffered greatly by the cold, especially such as were wounded, yet they stood their ground till Brennus, through some wounds which he had received, was carried out of the battle on the point of expiring. For then the Barbarians, being pressed on every side by the Greeks, were forced unwillingly to retreat, and slew those of their own party, who, through the wounds and weakness of their bodies, were unable to follow them.

The Gauls, too, were obliged to fix their camps in that place where the night came upon them during their flight: and in the night they were seized with a panic terror. For dread, which is produced from no apparent cause, is said to be sent by Pan. This terror seized the army of the Barbarians about midnight: and, at first, a few of them were agitated with such irrational fear, that they seemed, to themselves, to hear the sound of horses advancing towards them, and to perceive the approach of the enemy. Not long after, the whole army was infected with the same stupid fear. In consequence of this they hastily took up their arms; and a disagreement arising among them, they mutually slew each

other, through the darkness of the night and their insane terror; neither understanding their native language, nor recognising the countenances of each other, nor the figure of their shields; but each party fancied that the troops which it opposed were Greeks, and that the arms which they saw, and the voices which they heard, were Grecian. And this insanity, which was sent by divinity, caused a great multitude of the Gauls to slaughter each other. This massacre, too, was first of all perceived by those Phocenses who were left in the fields to guard the cattle; and the Greeks were informed by these of what had happened to the Barbarians in the night. The courage of the Phocenses, therefore, being roused by this intelligence, they rushed with greater alacrity on the Gauls, placed a stronger guard over their cattle, and were careful that no provision should be taken from their fields without an engagement ensuing. In consequence of this, the whole army of the Gauls laboured under an extreme want of corn, and every kind of nutriment.

But the multitude of the Gauls that died in Phocis, in battle, was not much less than six thousand: those that were destroyed by cold in the night, and afterwards by panic terror, were more than ten thousand; and a like number perished by famine. And this information respecting the Gauls was obtained by means of men who were sent by the Athenians to consult the Delphic oracle. The Bœotians, likewise, joined themselves to those Athenians who, having moved their camps, marched through Bœotia: and both these following the Barbarians, perpetually cut off, by stratagem, those that were in the rear of their army. The forces of Acichorius were not able to join those that fled with Brennus till the night preceding their flight. For the Ætolians, by continually infesting them with their darts, and every kind of missive weapon that came to hand, rendered their march slow; and hence no great multitude of them escaped to the camp near Heraclea. With respect

to Brennus, there was reason to hope that he would not die of his wound: but they say, that through fear of his fellow citizens, and still more through shame that he had been the cause of the Gauls suffering such calamities in Greece, he voluntarily destroyed himself by drinking pure wine. After his death, the Barbarians with great difficulty reached the river Sperchius, in consequence of the violent manner in which they were attacked by the Ætolians. And when they arrived at the Sperchius, the Thessalians and Malienses made such a slaughter of them, that not one was left to return home. This war of the Gauls against the Greeks, and the destruction of them which ensued in consequence of it, happened when Anaxicrates was the Athenian archon, and in the second year of the one hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, in which Ladas Ægiensis conquered in the stadium. But in the following year, in which Democles was the Athenian archon, the Gauls again passed over into Asia. And such is the genuine account of the particulars of this war.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In the vestibule of the Delphic temple precepts useful to the conduct of human life are written. These were composed by men who are called wise by the Greeks, viz. from Ionia, by Thales the Milesian, and Bias Prienensis: from the Æolians in Lesbos, Pittacus the Mitylenæan: from the Dorians in Asia, Cleobulus the Lindian: besides these, Solon the Athenian, and Chilon the Spartan: and for the seventh, Myson the Chenean enumerates Plato the son of Ariston, instead of Periander the son of Cypselus. Formerly the village Chenæ, in the mountain Oeta, was inhabited. These wise men, therefore, coming to Delphos, dedicated to Apollo those celebrated sentences, *Know thyself*, and *Nothing*

immoderately: and these sentences they wrote in the vestibule of the temple. You may see too here a brazen statue of Homer on a pillar; and on it the following oracle of Apollo respecting Homer is inscribed: "Blessed and unfortunate; for thou art born to each of these. Inquire after thy country; for thou hast a maternal, but not a paternal land. The island Ios is thy mother's country, which shall receive thee when dead. But guard against the ænigma of boys." The Ietæ, too, show the sepulchre of Homer in the island, and in a separate place the tomb of Clymene, who, they say, was the mother of Homer. The Cyprians, however, for they contend that Homer was born among them, say that his mother was Themisto, a native of their country: but Euclus thus prophesies concerning his origin: "Then in the sea-girt Cyprus a mighty poet shall arise, whom the divine Themisto shall bring forth in the wealthy fields of Salamis. But he, departing from Cyprus, and sailing on the deep, shall sing the first of all men the calamities of spacious Greece, and shall be himself immortal, and free from the depredations of age."

This account of Homer I have given in consequence of what I have heard from others, and from what I have read in oracles: for I have written nothing which is the result of my own opinion, either concerning his country or age. In the temple itself there is an altar of Neptune, because the most ancient oracle was the property of this god. There are likewise two statues of the Parcæ; but Jupiter *Moiragetes*, or *the leader of the Fates*, is dedicated instead of the third of the Parcæ. Apollo Moiragetes, too, stands near them. You may also see here a hearth, upon which the priest of Apollo slew Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, of whose death I have elsewhere made mention. Not far from hence there is a throne of Pindar, upon which, they say, Pindar sat whenever he came to Delphos, and sang the verses which he composed in honour of Apollo. In the

most inward part of the temple, into which but few are admitted, there is another golden statue of Apollo. On leaving the temple, and turning to the left hand, you will see an inclosure, which contains the tomb of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, to whom the Delphi perform funeral sacrifices every year. On ascending from this monument, you will see a stone of a moderate size. This they anoint with oil every day, and during every festival cover it with new shorn wool. They are of opinion respecting this stone, that it was given to Saturn as a substitute for the infant Jupiter, and that he afterwards threw it up by a vomit. On leaving this stone, and directing your course as if back again to the temple, you will see a fountain which is called Cassotis. There is a wall of a moderate size before it; and through the wall there is a passage of ascent to the fountain. They say, that the water of this fountain merges itself in the earth, and causes the women in the adytum of the god to possess prophetic powers. They add, that the fountain was denominated from one of the nymphs about Parnassus.

CHAPTER XXV.

Beyond the fountain Cassotis there is a building which contains the pictures of Polygnotus, which were dedicated by the Gnidians. The Delphi call this building *Lesche*; because formerly men used to discuss serious and trifling affairs in it. Homer, in the abusive speech of Melantho to Ulysses, evinces that there were many such places in every part of Greece:

> "Hence to the *Lesche*, from the midnight air,
> Or some black forge the vagrant's haunt repair."

On entering this building, you will see on the left hand of the wall the subversion of Troy, and the Greeks sailing to

their native land. Menelaus, too, is represented on board his ship preparing to depart from Troy: and in the ship, boys and men are seen standing together. In the middle of the ship the pilot Phrontis is represented distributing the *contoi*, or *bargemen's poles*. Homer, indeed, among other things which he makes Nestor say to Telemachus, represents him asserting of Phrontis, that he was the son of Onestor, that he was the pilot of Menelaus, that he was most skilful in his art, and that he died when they had sailed beyond the promontory Sunium in the Attic land. Nestor, too, relates, that Menelaus sailed with him to that place, and that he staid there till they had raised a tomb, and performed such funeral honours as are usually paid to the dead. Menelaus, therefore, is painted in this picture. Beneath him Ithæmenes is painted, carrying a certain garment, together with Echocax descending by a naval ladder to the sea with a brazen urn. Polites, Strophius, and Alphius are represented taking down the tent of Menelaus, which is not far from the ship; and Amphialus is seen taking down another tent.

A boy sits at the feet of Amphialus; but there is no inscription on him. Phrontis is the only person in this group that has a beard; and Polygnotus learnt his name alone from the Odyssey; for it appears to me, that the other names are his own invention. Briseis, too, is represented in this picture; above her stands Diomed, and near both of them Iphis; and they are in the attitude of persons admiring the form of Helen. Helen herself is seated; and near her stands Eurybates, who, as we may conjecture, was the herald of Ulysses. He is, however, without a beard. There are besides two maid servants, Electra and Panthalis, the latter of whom stands by Helen, and the former is represented fastening the shoes of her mistress. These names, too, are different from those which are adopted by Homer in the Iliad, where he describes Helen and her maids on the

walls of Troy. A man clothed in purple, and extremely sorrowful, sits above Helen: and before you read the inscription, you may easily conjecture that this is Helenus. Near Helenus, Meges stands. His arm is wounded, agreeably to the account given of him by Lescheus Pyrrhæus, the son of Æschylenus, in his poem on the destruction of Troy. This Lescheus informs us, that he was wounded by the Argive Admetus in that battle which the Trojans fought in the night. Lycomedes, the son of Creon, stands near Meges.—He is represented wounded in the wrist: and according to Lescheus, he received this wound from Agenor. It is evident, therefore, that Polygnotus would not have painted him in this manner, unless he had read the poetical compositions of Lescheus. Lycomedes likewise received two wounds besides this, one in the foot, and the other in the head: and these Polygnotus has represented in the picture. Euryalus, too, the son of Mecisteus, appears with two wounds, one in the head, and the other in the wrist. All these are above Helen in the picture. After Helen, Æthra the mother of Theseus is painted, with her hair shaven off to her skin; together with Demophon the son of Theseus, who is represented considering whether it is possible for him to save Æthra. The Argives say, that Melanippus was the son of Theseus by the daughter of Synnis, and that he conquered in the race, when those who are called the Epigonoi established the second Nemean games after Adrastus.

Lescheus relates in his verses, that when Troy was taken, Æthra escaped, and came to the camps of the Greeks; that she was there known by the sons of Theseus, and that Demophon requested her in marriage of Agamemnon. That he indeed was willing to gratify Demophon, but that he said he would not accomplish their desires, till he had gained the consent of Helen. A herald, therefore, being sent to Helen, found her disposed to the match. Hence, in the picture, Eurybates appears addressing Helen on account

of Æthra, and delivering to her the message of Agamemnon. Trojan women, too, are represented in this picture in the habit of mourning captives. The first of these is Andromache with an infant at her breast. Lescheus says, that this infant was thrown from a tower, not indeed by the decree of the Greeks, but through the private hatred of Neoptolemus, who ordered him to be put to death. Medesicaste likewise is painted here, who was one of the bastard daughters of Priam, who, according to Homer, dwelt in the city Pedæum, and was married to Imbrius the son of Mentor. Andromache and Medesicaste are veiled: but Polyxena is painted with her hair platted after the manner of virgins.—Poets sing, and the pictures which I have seen at Athens, and Pergamus, which is a city above Caicus, in which the calamities of Polyxena are painted, evince, that she was slain at the tomb of Achilles. Polygnotus, too, has painted in the same picture, Nestor with a hat on his head, and a spear in his hand. A horse rolling in the dust is seen near him. The ground on which the horse lies is the sea shore: and the pebbles on the shore are represented. The remaining part of the ground does not appear to resemble the sea shore.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Above those women which are between Æthra and Nestor other captives are painted, viz. Clymene, Creusa, Aristomache, and Xenodice. Stesichorus, in his poem on the destruction of Troy, ranks Clymene among the captives. In a similar manner the poet Ennus says, that Aristomache was the daughter of Priam, and that she was married to Critolaus the son of Icetaon. But I do not know of any poet, or prose writer, that makes mention of Xenodice. It

is said of Creusa, that she was taken from the Greeks, and restored to liberty by the mother of the Gods and Venus, and that she was the wife of Æneas. Lescheus, however, and the author of the Cyprian verses, say that Eurydice was the wife of Æneas. Above these Deinomoe, Metioche, Pisis, and Cleodice are painted reclining on a bed. The name of one of these only is mentioned in the poem called *the small Iliad:* and it appears to me, that Polygnotus invented the other names. Here, too, Epeus is painted, throwing down the walls of Troy from their foundations. And the only thing above these is the head of the horse Durateus. Polypoetes, likewise, the son of Pirithous, is painted, having his head bound with a fillet. Acamas the son of Theseus stands by him with a helmet on his head, and a crest on the helmet. Ulysses, too, is present, and is invested with a coat of mail. Ajax the son of Oileus approaches with a shield to the altar, in order to swear before he offers violence to Cassandra. But Cassandra sits on the ground, holding the wooden image of Minerva, which she tore from its basis, when Ajax drew her from her supplications at the altar. The sons of Atreus likewise are painted with helmets on their heads. But on the shield of Menelaus there is a dragon, viz. the one that appeared as an omen during the sacrifice at Aulis. These administer the oath to Ajax. Opposite to the horse, Neoptolemus is beheld near Nestor, slaying Elassus. This Elassus, whoever he was, resembles a man nearly expiring. Neoptolemus too strikes with his sword Astynous, who has fallen on his knees, and who is mentioned by Lescheus. Polygnotus, indeed, is the only one of the Greeks that has represented Neoptolemus still continuing to slay the Trojans; and his design in this was, that the whole picture might correspond to the tomb of Neoptolemus. Homer, indeed, every where calls Neoptolemus the son of Achilles; but the Cyprian verses testify, that he was called Pyrrhus by Lycomedes, and that the name of Neoptolemus was given to

him by Phœnix, because Achilles was very young when he first engaged in war.

An altar, too, is painted here, and a little boy embracing the altar through fear. On the altar there is a brazen coat of mail. At present the shape of such coats of mail as this is very rare: but they were used in former times. In this coat of mail there are two pieces of brass, one of which serves to fasten it to the breast, and the parts about the belly, and the other defends the back: the anterior part of this coat of mail they call *gualon*, and the hinder part *prosegon*. It appears, too, to be a sufficient defence for the body without a shield. On this account, Homer represents the Phrygian Phorcys fighting without a shield, because he used a *gualothorax*, or *hollow coat of mail*. I beheld the image of this coat of mail in the picture of Polygnotus. And in the temple of Ephesian Diana, Calliphon the Samian has painted certain women adapting the hollow parts of a coat of mail to Patroclus. Polygnotus likewise has painted in this picture Laodice standing beyond the altar. I do not know of any poet that has mentioned her among the Trojan captives; and it appears to me very probable that she was dismissed by the Greeks. Homer, indeed, in the Iliad, evinces that Menelaus and Ulysses were entertained by Antenor, and that Laodice was married to Helicaon the son of Antenor. Lescheus asserts, that Helicaon being wounded in the nocturnal engagement, was known by Ulysses, and freed from the danger of the fight. It may, therefore, be easily believed, that neither Agamemnon nor Menelaus would act in an hostile manner towards the wife of Helicaon. However, Eupherion Chalcidensis asserts things respecting Laodice, which are utterly void of probability. After Laodice there is a stone prop, on which there is a brazen laver. Medusa sits on the ground, holding this prop with both her hands. Any one may rank Medusa among the daughters of Priam, who has read the ode of Himeræus. Near Medusa there is an old woman with her hair shaven to the skin;

or perhaps this may be an eunuch. She holds a naked infant on her knees: and the infant is represented holding his hand before his eyes, through fear..

CHAPTER XXVII.

With respect to the dead bodies in the picture, one of them is Pelis, who is naked, and is thrown on his side. Beneath him Eioneus and Admetus lie, having on their coats of mail. Lescheus informs us, that Eioneus was slain by Neoptolemus, and Admetus by Philoctetes. Above these there are other dead bodies. Under the laver Leocritus the son of Polydamas lies, who was slain by Ulysses. Above Eioneus and Admetus is Corœbus the son of Mygdon. There is a noble monument of this Mygdon in the borders of the Ectorean Phrygians: and from him poets denominate the Phrygians, Mygdonians. Corœbus came to the wedding of Cassandra; and, according to general report, was slain by Neoptolemus. Lescheus says, that he was slain by Diomed. Above Corœbus are Priam, Axion, and Agenor. Lescheus informs us, that Priam was not slain at the altar of Hercean Jupiter, but being dragged from the altar was beheaded by Neoptolemus, when he met him before the doors of the palace. With respect to Hecuba, Stesichorus, in his poem on the destruction of Troy, says that she was transported by Apollo to Lycia. But Lescheus says, that Axion was the son of Priam, and that he was slain by Eurypylus the son of Euæmon. The same poet, too, asserts that Neoptolemus slew Agenor. And hence it appears, that Echeclus the son of Agenor was slain by Achilles, and Agenor himself by Neoptolemus. Sinon the companion of Ulysses and Anchialus are carrying out the dead body of Laomedon. Another dead body is painted here, whose name is Eresus. I do not know of any poet

that has mentioned Eresus and Laomedon in his verses. Here too the house of Antenor is represented; and over the vestibule of it the skin of a leopard is suspended. This was hung up as a signal to the Greeks, that they should not injure the house of Antenor. Theano likewise is painted with her sons. One of these, Glaucus, sits on a coat of mail joined together with hollow parts; and Eurymachus sits on a stone. Near him stands Antenor, and after him follows Crino the daughter of Antenor. She holds in her arms an infant boy. All these are painted with sorrowful countenances. Servants are placing a chest and other furniture on an ass: and a little boy sits on the ass. In this part of the picture there is the following elegy of Simonides:

The artist Polygnotus, for his sire
Who claims Aglaophon, in Thasus born,
Painted the captured tower of Troy.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The other part of the picture, which is on the left hand, represents Ulysses descending to Hades, that he may consult the soul of Tiresias about his safe return to his native country. The particulars of the painting are as follow:—A river presents itself to the view, which is evidently Acheron. Reeds are seen in this river, and fishes whose forms are so obscure that you might conjecture they were rather shadows than fishes. There is a ship, too, in this river, and a ferryman standing by its oars. Polygnotus, as it appears to me, in this part of the picture had an eye to the poem called Minyas, in which there are the following verses upon Theseus and Pirithous:

"Old Charon in his vessel fill'd with shades
Refused these living heroes to admit."

Hence Polygnotus has represented Charon as an old man. The person in this vessel cannot be very clearly discerned. However, Tellis, who is very young, is among these, and Cleobœa as yet a virgin. On her knees she supports a cista, or chest, resembling such as are used in the solemn festivals of Ceres. With respect to Tellis, I have only heard thus much, that the poet Archilochus was his great grandson. They say that Cleobœa was the first that brought the mysteries of Ceres from the island Paros to Thasus. On the banks of Acheron, an affair is represented, which deserves to be particularly noticed. A little below Charon, a son who had behaved unjustly to his father, is strangled by his father. For the ancients very much reverenced their parents, as may be inferred from other examples, and from the actions of those in Catana, who are called *the pious*. For when this city was set on fire by mount Ætna, these paid no attention to the preservation of their silver and gold, but one of them took up his father in his arms, and the other his mother, and fled with them out of the city. Through the rapid fury, however, of the fire, they found great difficulty in making their escape; yet notwithstanding this, they did not leave their parents, but passed through the stream of fire, which, as they say, separated itself into two parts, and neither injured them nor their parents. These youths are even at present honoured by the Catanæans.

In this picture of Polygnotus, near the man who injured his father, and is on this account punished in Hades, there is a man suffering punishment for sacrilege. A woman well acquainted with poisons, and other instruments of punishment, is represented tormenting him. Men therefore at that time were remarkably pious towards the gods: and this the Athenians evinced when they took the temple of Olympian Jupiter among the Syracusans; for they did not move any of the sacred offerings, and suffered the Syracusan priest who guarded the offerings, still to continue his office. This, too, the Mede Datis evinced: for having found a statue of

Apollo in a Phœnician ship, he immediately gave it to the Tanagræans to be carried back to Delium. So that at that time all men venerated a divine nature; and Polygnotus well knowing this, painted the man suffering in Hades for sacrilege. Above those which we have now enumerated is Eurynomus, who, according to the Delphic interpreters of sacred concerns, is one of the dæmons belonging to Hades, and who eats the flesh of dead bodies, so as to leave the bones quite bare. However, neither Homer in the Odyssey, nor the poetical composition which is called Minyæ, nor the verses which are denominated *Nostoi*, or *the Return* (for in these there is an account of Hades and its terrors), make any mention of the dæmon Eurynomus. I shall therefore describe the figure of Eurynomus as he appears in this picture. His colour is between azure and black, and is like that of flies which infest meat. He shows his teeth, and sits on the skin of a vulture. Auge and Iphimedea from Arcadia present themselves to the view after Eurynomus. Auge came to Mysia, which is near Teuthras, and is said to have brought forth a son the most like his father, of all the women with which Hercules was connected. But the Carians in Mylessæ pay great honours to Iphimedea.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Above those which I have now numerated, this picture contains a representation of the companions of Ulysses, Perimedes and Eurylochus, carrying victims: and these are black rams. After these there is a man seated; and the inscription shows that he is Ocnus. He is represented twisting a rope: and a female ass stands by him, who eats the rope as fast as he twists it. They say that this Ocnus was an industrious man, who had an expensive wife; and that

whatever he collected by his industry, she soon after found means to consume. They are of opinion, therefore, that Polygnotus designed to represent this affair by the rope-maker and his ass. I know, indeed, that the Ionians, when they see a man very industrious, but at the same time labouring without any emolument, say that he twists the rope of Ocnus. Diviners, too, who prophesy from the flight of birds, call a certain bird Ocnus: and this bird is the largest and most beautiful of herons, and at the same time is very rare. Tityus too is painted in this picture; and is represented as no longer punished, but perfectly wearied out with uninterrupted punishment. There is likewise a certain obscure and imperfect image. On turning your attention to the other parts of the picture, you will see Ariadne very near the man who twists the rope. She sits on a rock, and looks at her sister Phædra: and her body is suspended by a rope which she holds with both her hands. Indeed the particulars respecting the death of Phædra are here signified in a more becoming manner. But Bacchus took away Ariadne from Theseus, either through the interference of some divine power, or by stratagem, as his naval forces were much superior to those of Theseus. This Bacchus, too, in my opinion, was the same with the one who first led an army to the Indies, and first raised bridges over the Euphrates, in that part of the city which is called Zeugma, and where even at present a rope is preserved, made of vine and ivy twigs, which Bacchus is said to have used when he built the bridges. Many things, indeed, are reported concerning Bacchus, both by the Greeks and Egyptians.

Under Phædra Chloris reclines on the knees of Thyia. He who asserts that a great friendship subsisted between these women, while living, will certainly not err. This Chloris was a native of Orchomenus in Bœotia: and it is said by some that she married Neleus the son of Neptune, at that time when Neptune had connexion with Thyia. Pro-

cris the daughter of Erechtheus stands near Thyia: and after her you may see Clymene, with her back towards Thyia. In the poem called Nostoi, it is said that Clymene was the daughter of Minyas, and that she was married to Cephalus the son of Deion, by whom she had Iphiclus. Of Procris it is universally said, that before Clymene she was married to Cephalus, and that she was slain by her husband. In the more interior part of the picture, after Clymene you may see the Theban Megara, who was the wife of Hercules. She was, however, at length dismissed by Hercules, in consequence of his being deprived of all the children which he had by her, and believing that his connexion with her was inauspicious. Above the heads of those women we have just mentioned, is the daughter of Salmoneus sitting on a stone. Eriphyle stands near her, and raises the extremities of her fingers through her garment to her neck. You may conjecture, that she holds a necklace in that hand which is concealed in the folds of the garment. Elpenor is represented above Eriphyle and Ulysses kneeling, and holding a sword over a ditch. The prophet Tiresias approaches to the ditch: and after Tiresias, Anticlea the mother of Ulysses is seen sitting on a stone. Elpenor is covered with a mat made of bulrushes, after the manner of sailors, instead of a garment. Theseus and Pirithous sit on a throne below Ulysses: and of these Theseus holds the sword of Pirithous, and his own sword, in both his hands; but Pirithous looks at the swords, and seems to be indignant that he has no weapons to accomplish his daring enterprise. Panyasis asserts in his verses, that Theseus and Pirithous were not bound to the throne like captives, but that a stone grew to their skin, and served instead of bonds. Homer in both his poems mentions the celebrated friendship of Theseus and Pirithous. For Ulysses thus speaks to the Phæacians:

> "Th' illustrious Theseus' and Pirithous' shades,
> Famed sons of gods, I then perhaps had seen."

And in the Iliad, Nestor, when he exhorts Agamemnon and Achilles to lay aside their enmity, thus speaks:

> "A godlike race of heroes once I knew,
> Such as no more these aged eyes shall view!
> Lives there a chief to match Pirithous' fame,
> Dryas the bold, or Ceneus' deathless name;
> Theseus endued with more than mortal might,
> Or Polyphemus like the gods in fight?"

CHAPTER XXX.

After these, Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandarus. Homer, in the speeches of Penelope, says, that, through the anger of the gods, their parents died while they were virgins, and that thus becoming orphans, they were educated by Venus. That they likewise received other benefits from other goddesses; as, for instance, sufficient prudence and beauty of form from Juno; tallness from Diana; and such works as are adapted to the female sex from Minerva. Lastly, that Venus ascended to heaven, and obtained from Jupiter prosperous nuptials for the virgins; but that, during the absence of Venus, they were seized by the Harpies, and delivered up to the Furies. And such is the account given of them by Homer. But Polygnotus has crowned them with flowers, and has represented them playing with dice. The names of these women were Camiro and Clytie. It appears, too, that their father, Pandarus, was a Milesian, from Miletus, a Cretan city, and the associate of Tantalus, both in his theft and fraudulent oath. After the daughters of Pandarus, Antilochus is seen, with one of his feet on a stone, and holding his head with both his hands. Agamemnon succeeds Antilochus; and he is represented leaning with his left arm on a sceptre, and holding a wand in his hands. Protesilaus

sits looking at Achilles; and Patroclus stands above Achilles. All these are beardless, except Agamemnon. Phocus is painted above these, who appears to be quite a youth; together with Iascus, who has a beard, and is endeavouring to take off a ring from the left hand finger of Phocus; and this for the following reason:

When Phocus, the son of Æacus, passed over from Ægina to that country which is now called Phocis, and obtained the government of that part of the continent, Iascus contracted a great friendship with him, and gave him things suitable to his dignity, and a stone seal set in gold. But Phocus, not long after this, returning to Ægina, lost his life through the stratagems of Peleus. On this account, therefore, in the picture, Iascus is desirous that the seal may be considered as a monument of his friendship; and Phocus very readily suffers him to take it off his finger, that he may prove his friendship by showing it. Above these is Mæra, sitting on a stone. In the poem called Nostoi, it is said, that she died while she was a virgin; and that she was the daughter of Proetus, who was the son of Thersander, and the grandson of Sisyphus. After Mæra, you will see Actæon, the son of Aristæus, and his mother, holding the fawn of a hind in her hands, and sitting on the skin of a hind. A hunting dog stands near her; and this on account of the life of Actæon, and the manner of his death. If, again, you look to the lower parts of the picture, you will see, after Patroclus, Orpheus sitting on a certain hill, with a harp in his left hand, and, in his right hand, the leaves of a willow-tree. He is represented leaning on the trunk of this tree. The grove itself appears to be sacred to Proserpine, and abounds, as Homer represents it, with poplars and willows. The figure of Orpheus is Grecian; and neither his garment, nor the covering on his head, is Thracian. Promedon leans on the other part of the willow.

Some are of opinion, that this name was introduced by

Polygnotus, as if he had found it in some poem. Others, again, say, that Promedon was a Grecian, who was very desirous of hearing all kinds of music, and particularly that of Orpheus. In this part of the picture, too, is Schedius, who led the Phocenses to Troy: and after him is Pelias sitting on a throne, and whose beard is equally hoary with his head. He is represented looking at Orpheus. But Schedius holds a dagger in his hand, and is crowned with grass. Thamyris, whose sight is destroyed, sits near Pelias. His whole figure is that of a *humble*, abject man; his hair, too, and beard are thick and long. Near his feet there is a lyre, which appears to have been thrown down, the bent parts of which are broken, and the chords are burst. Above him is Marsyas, sitting on a stone; and near Marsyas, Olympus stands, who is a boy in the flower of his youth, and has the figure of one learning to play on the pipe. The Phrygians, who inhabit Celænæ, are of opinion that the river which runs through their country was once this Marsyas. They add, that Marsyas invented that melody of the pipe which the Greeks call *Metroos*, or *harmony sacred to the mother of the gods;* and that he assisted them when they were attacked by the Gauls, both by means of the water of the river Marsyas, and the melody of his pipes.

CHAPTER XXXI.

If you again look to the upper parts of the picture, you will see, in a continued series, Salaminian Ajax next to Actæon, and, afterwards, Palamedes and Thersites playing with dice, which were invented by Palamedes. The other Ajax is looking at them while they are playing. The colour of this Ajax is that of a seafaring man; and his body is yet wet with the foam of the sea. Polygnotus seems to

have collected the enemies of Ulysses into one place. But the reason why Ajax, the son of Oileus, hated Ulysses, was because Ulysses advised the Greeks to stone Ajax to death for the daring wickedness of his conduct towards Cassandra. I know, too, from the Cyprian verses, that Palamedes, when he once went a fishing, was drowned by Ulysses and Diomed. A little above Oilean Ajax, Meleager, the son of Oeneus, is painted, and appears to be looking at Ajax. All these, except Palamedes, have beards. With respect to the death of Meleager, Homer informs us, that he was destroyed by one of the Furies, through the imprecations of Althæa. But the poem called *the great Eoeæ*, and likewise the verses which are denominated *Minyas*, say, that the Curetes were assisted by Apollo against the Ætolians, and that Meleager was slain by Apollo. With respect to the firebrand, too, as that it was given by the Fates to Althæa, that Meleager would necessarily die when it was consumed by fire, and that Althæa, in a fit of anger, burnt it; these particulars were first of all described by Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, in the drama Pleuron:

> "Destined to a horrid fate
> Through his vengeful mother's hate;
> Through her machinations dire,
> He was pierced to death by fire,
> By a brand's devouring flame,
> Kindled by the fraudful dame."

However, Phrynichus does not say much respecting this affair, which it might be supposed he would have done, if it had been his own invention. And hence it appears to me, that he just mentions this circumstance as a thing well known to all Greece. In the lowest parts of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyris, you will see Hector sitting with both his hands on his left knee, and exhibiting the appearance of a man oppressed with sorrow. After him is Memnon sitting on a stone; and close by him is Sarpedon, leaning with his

face on both his hands. But one of the hands of Memnon is placed on the shoulder of Sarpedon. And all these have a beard. In the robe of Memnon, too, birds are painted: and these birds are called Memnonides. The inhabitants of Hellespont say, that these birds, on stated days every year, fly to the sepulchre of Memnon, and dig up every part about the tomb that is void of trees and grass, and afterwards sprinkle such parts with their wings, which are wet with the water of the river Æsepus. Near Memnon there is a naked Æthiopian boy, because Memnon was a king of the Æthiopians. However, he came to the Trojan war, not from Æthiopia, but from Susa, a Persian city, and the river Choaspes; having vanquished all those nations which are situated between Susa and the Choaspes. The Phrygians, too, even at present, show a road through which he led his army at that time when he was selecting the shortest passages. This road is cut through desert places. Above Sarpedon and Memnon, Paris is painted, as yet a beardless youth. He is represented clapping his hands, after the manner of rustics; and you may conjecture, that by this clapping he calls Penthesilea. Penthesilea, too, is looking at Paris; and, by her countenance, she appears to despise him, and to consider him as a man of no estimation. But the figure of Penthesilea is that of a virgin, with a bow, like those in Scythia, and with the skin of a leopard thrown about her shoulders.

Above Penthesilea, there are certain persons carrying water in earthen urns full of holes. One of these resembles a virgin in the flower of her youth, but the other appears to be more advanced in age. There is no inscription on each of these women; but a common inscription on them shows that they are of the number of the uninitiated. The women that are above these are Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, Nomia, and Pero, the daughter of Neleus. For this last, Neleus demands an ox of Iphiclus as a sponsal gift. Callisto

has the hide of a bear for her bed-covering; and her feet are placed on the knees of Nomia. I have before shown that, according to the Arcadians, Nomia was one of the nymphs belonging to their country. According to poets, indeed, nymphs live a great number of years, but yet are not entirely exempt from death. After Callisto and the women that are with her, there is a representation of a precipice, to the summit of which Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, endeavours to roll a stone. In the same part of the picture there are a large vessel, an old man, a boy, and women sitting on a stone. One of these, of the same age with the old man, stands by him; but the others are carrying water. You may conjecture, that the old woman is pouring out the remains of the water from the perforated vessel into the large vessel again. It appears to me, that these persons despised the Eleusinian mysteries. For the more ancient Greeks considered these mysteries as much superior in dignity to all other institutions which lead to piety as gods are to heroes. Below this large vessel, Tantalus is represented suffering those punishments which are mentioned by Homer; and, besides these, he is terrified lest a stone, which hangs over his head, should fall on him. It is evident that Polygnotus followed Archilochus in this; but I cannot tell whether Archilochus was instructed in the particulars belonging to this stone by others. And so numerous are the figures, and such the elegance of the picture which the Thasian artist painted.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A THEATRE, which deserves to be inspected, joins to the inclosure of the temple. And, on ascending from the inclosure, you will see a statue of Bacchus, which was dedicated by the Cnidians. In the upper part, too, of the city there

is a stadium, which is built of such stone as the mountain Parnassus abounds with; and this remained to the time of the Athenian Herodes, who adorned it with Pentelican stone. And such are the particulars of things remaining even at present at Delphos, and which deserve to be mentioned. On proceeding from Delphos to the summits of Parnassus, at the distance of about sixty stadia, you will see a brazen statue: and, for a man not heavily clothed, there is a road here, by which he may descend, either with a mule or a horse, to the cavern Corycium. This cavern was thus denominated from the nymph Corycia, as I have a little before shown. Of all the caverns that I have ever seen, I consider this as the most admirable. For, indeed, no one would wish to discover the number of caverns on maritime coasts, and in the profundities of the sea; but there are some of a great name, both in Greece and among the Barbarians. Thus the Phrygians, that dwell near the river Peucella, and who derive their origin from Arcadia and the Azanes, show those who travel to their country a cavern called Steunos. This cavern is round, and its altitude is accommodated to descent; and within it there is a temple of the mother of the gods, and a statue of the goddess. Themisonium is a city above Laodicea, and is inhabited by the Phrygians: and when the army of the Gauls spread all over Ionia and the neighbouring coasts, bringing with them destruction wherever they came, the Themisonians say, that Hercules, Apollo, and Mercury gave them assistance; and that the rulers of their country were admonished by these divinities, in a dream, to order the men, women, and children to conceal themselves in a cavern belonging to this city. In remembrance of this circumstance they have placed before the cavern statues, of a moderate size, of Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo: and these statues they call *Spelaïtai*.

This cavern is about thirty stadia distant from the town; and in it there are fountains of water; but there is not any

path which leads to it, nor does the light of the sun penetrate far into it. And, besides this, the greatest part of the roof is very near the ground. Among the Magnetæ, too, who dwell near the river Lethæus, there is a place called Hylæ: and in it there is a cavern sacred to Apollo, which, for its magnitude, does not demand much admiration; but the statue of Apollo, within this cavern, is very ancient, and imparts strength in every undertaking. Hence men that are sacred to Apollo leap from precipices and lofty rocks without sustaining any injury; and, having torn up trees of a prodigious altitude by the roots, carry them with ease through the narrowest roads. The cavern Corycium, however, surpasses in magnitude those we have mentioned; and the greatest part of it may be descended into, and this without a light. The roof is sufficiently elevated above the ground; and the cavern contains many fountains of water; but a still greater quantity of water trickles from its top; so that the vestiges of drops of water may be seen throughout the cavern. The inhabitants of Parnassus are of opinion, that this cavern is particularly sacred to the Corycian nymphs, and to Pan. But from hence to the summits of Parnassus the road, to a man lightly clothed, is difficult. For the summits of this mountain are above the clouds; and the Thyiades, agitated with divine fury, sacrifice on these summits to Bacchus and Apollo. Tithorea, too, is about eighty stadia distant from Delphos, to one who is travelling through Parnassus. The road is not entirely mountainous; but that part of it which may be passed through by carriages is said to be longer by some stadia. As to the name of the city, I know that Herodotus, in that part of his history in which he gives an account of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, differs from what is asserted in the oracles of Bacis. For Bacis calls these people Tithorenses; but Herodotus says, that when the Barbarians invaded this country, the inhabitants fled to the summit of

Parnassus; and he calls the city Neon, and the summit of Parnassus Tithorea. It appears, therefore, that all the country was at first called Tithorea; but that in process of time, when the inhabitants collected themselves into one city, that which was once called Neon came to be denominated Tithorea.

The natives say, that this name was derived from the nymph Tithorea, who was one of those nymphs that, according to the ancient poets, are produced from other trees, and particularly from oaks. But the affairs of the Tithoreans, one age prior to mine, were changed by the dæmon to a worse condition. At present, however, the apparatus of a theatre, and the inclosure of a more ancient forum, remain. The particulars in the city, which mostly deserve to be mentioned, are a grove, temple, and statue of Minerva; and a monument in remembrance of Antiope and Phocus. In my account of the affairs of the Thebans, I mentioned the insanity of Antiope, through the anger of Bacchus, and on what account she became the victim of divine anger. I showed, too, in the same place, that she was married to Phocus, the son of Ornytion, and was buried with him: and, besides this, I indicated what the oracle of Bacis asserted, both concerning this sepulchre, and that of Zethus and Amphion among the Thebans. And such are the particulars which deserve to be mentioned in this town; for there are not any besides these. A river runs near the city of Tithorea; and the inhabitants of the city descend to its banks, and draw water from it. The name of the river is Cachales. The temple of Æsculapius is about eighty stadia distant from Tithorea: and they call this god *Archagetas*, or *the primæval divinity*. He is honoured by the Tithoreans, and by the rest of the Phocenses. Within the inclosure there are habitations for suppliants and the servants of the god: but in the middle of it there is a temple; and a stone statue, which has a beard, and is about two feet in

altitude. On the right hand of the statue there is a bed. They are of opinion that they ought to sacrifice all kinds of victims to the god, except goats. At the distance of about forty stadia from this temple of Æsculapius, there is an inclosure, and in it there is an adytum sacred to Isis. This is the most holy of every thing which the Greeks consecrate to this goddess. For the Tithoreans neither think it proper to take up their residence here, nor to suffer any to enter the adytum, except such as the goddess Isis informs them, by a dream, she thinks proper to admit. The subterranean gods, in the cities above the Mæander, act in just the same manner; for they exhibit in dreams the images of those persons who they are willing should be admitted into the adyta.

But the Tithoreans celebrate the Paneguris of Isis twice a year, viz. in spring and in autumn. And, on the third day prior to each of these public solemnities, those that are permitted to enter the adytum purify it after a certain secret manner; and always bring into the same place the relics of the victims which were sacrificed in the former solemnity, and bury them there. This place, where they bury the relics, is, as far as I can conjecture, about two stadia distant from the adytum. And these are the ceremonies which they perform on that day. On the following day, they erect pedlars' tents, from reeds and other materials which they happen to meet with. And, on the last of the three days, those who assemble in these tents sell slaves, and cattle of every kind, together with apparel, silver, and gold. After the middle of the day, too, they turn their attention to the sacrifice. And then the more affluent sacrifice oxen and stags; but the poorer sort geese, and the birds called Meleagrides. But they do not think proper to sacrifice swine; nor do they employ, on this occasion, sheep or goats. Such victims as they sacrifice they send into the adytum, where a funeral pile is raised for the sacrifice. They reckon it

necessary, too, to roll round the victims linen or flaxen bandages. And this is the Egyptian mode of adorning the victims. But they cause all the victims which are immolated to pass in the procession; and it is the employment of some to send them into the adytum, and of others, who are before the adytum, to burn the tents; after which, they speedily depart from this place.

They say, too, that a certain person once, among the number of those who are forbidden to enter the adytum, and who, indeed, was a profane man, when the pile was enkindled, through curiosity and boldness entered the adytum; that all parts of it appeared to him to be full of spectres; and that, on his returning to Tithoræa, as soon as he had related all that he had seen, he died. I have heard things similar to these of a certain Phœnician. They say, that the Egyptians celebrate the festival of Isis in that part of the year in which she bewails Osiris; that then the Nile begins to ascend; and that the vulgar of the natives say, that the tears of Isis cause the Nile to increase and irrigate the fields. At that time, therefore, a certain Roman, who was the præfect of Egypt, persuaded a man, for a sum of money, to enter into the adytum of Isis in Coptos. This man returned, indeed, but died as soon as he had told what he had seen. Homer, therefore, appears to speak truly, when he says, that no man can clearly behold the gods, and, at the same time, be prosperous in his affairs. But Tithoræa produces fewer olives than either the Attic or Sicyonian land. Its olives, however, are superior, both in colour and sweetness, to those which are brought from Spain and Istria. They form all various kinds of ointments from these, and send these olives as a present to Cæsar.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

But another road from Tithoræa leads to Ledon. This was formerly reckoned a city; but at present the Ledontii have abandoned it, through the imbecility of their affairs, and about eighty of them reside near the Cephissus. However, the place of their residence is called Ledon; and they form a part of the Phocensian convention, just the same as the Panopenses. But from the place which is now inhabited, near the Cephissus, to the ruins of the former city, there is a distance of forty stadia. They say, that the city was denominated from one of its natives. Other cities, too, besides this, have been irreparably injured through the unjust conduct of their inhabitants. Thus Troy was entirely destroyed through the base behaviour of Paris towards Menelaus. Thus the Milesians, through the intemperate desire of, and lawless love of Hestiæus, lost their city, while he was at one time willing to reign in the city of Edonis, at another time to be the counsellor of Darius, and sometimes to return to Ionia. And thus the Ledontii severely suffered through the sacrilegious conduct of Philomelus. But Lilæa is distant from Delphos about one winter day's journey; and you descend to it through Parnassus. I conjecture that the distance is about one hundred and eighty stadia. A second unfortunate circumstance, from Macedonia, oppressed this city after it was restored; for, being besieged by Demetrius, the inhabitants were obliged to accede to conditions of peace, and to admit a guard belonging to the enemy within their walls. Nor were they freed from this bondage till one of the natives, whose name was Patron, incited all those that were capable of bearing arms to rise; and, having vanquished the Macedonians, compelled them to abandon the city and accede to

the conditions which he proposed. And the Lilæans, in remembrance of so great a benefit, dedicated his statue at Delphos.

But in Lilæa there are a theatre, a forum, and a bath. There are, likewise, two temples, one of Apollo, and the other of Diana. The statues in these temples are in an upright position, were made by Attic artists, and are of Pentelican stone. They say, that Lilæa was one of the Naiades; that she was the daughter of Cephissus; and that from her the city was denominated. The fountains of the river are in this place; and the river rises from the earth, not at all times quietly, but for the most part, and particularly in the middle of the day, with a loud noise, like the roaring of a bull. For three parts of the year, viz. in spring, summer, and autumn, Lilæa is a temperate region; but the mountain Parnassus prevents it from being similarly temperate in winter. A place called Charadra, which is situated on a precipice, is about thirty stadia distant from hence. The inhabitants of this place labour under a great scarcity of water. The river Charadrus supplies them with all the water they have; and this river, after running through shelving places, pours itself into the Cephissus. It appears to me, that the town Charadra was denominated from this river. But the Charadræ have two altars in the open air, sacred to two of those who are called heroes. Some are of opinion, that these heroes are the Dioscuri; and others say, that they are heroes belonging to this country. The land, too, about the Cephissus is by far the best in all Phocis, and is naturally adapted to the plantation of trees, and the sowing of seeds of every kind; and abounds with excellent pastures. Hence they pay particular attention to the cultivation of this part of the country. And hence there are some who think that Homer, in the following verse, by the *Parapotamii*, or *inhabitants of the river*, does not allude to a city, but to those who cultivate the land near the Cephissus:

"And those who near divine Cephissus dwell."

This opinion, however, may be confuted, both by the history of Herodotus, and the particulars which are related of the Pythian victories. For the Amphictyons first instituted the Pythian games, and the Parapotamian Æchmæas was the first that in these games conquered boys in boxing. In like manner Herodotus, when he enumerates the cities of the Phocenses which Xerxes burnt, reckons among them the Parapotamians. These people, however, were not restored by the Athenians and Bœotians, but were obliged, through imbecility and want of money, to betake themselves to other cities. The ruins, indeed, of this city do not at present remain, nor is it even known where it formerly stood.

From Lilæa there is a road of about sixty stadia in length, which leads to Amphiclea. The inhabitants of this place have corrupted the name of the city: for Herodotus, following the most ancient reports, calls it Ophitea; and the Amphictyons, when a decree was passed for destroying the cities of the Phocenses, gave it the name of Ophitea. But the natives relate the following particulars concerning this city: A certain powerful man, suspecting the stratagems of his enemies, placed his son in a vessel, such as is used for the reception of liquor, trusting that in this place he would be concealed with security. A wolf, however, rushed on the boy in his place of concealment; but a strong dragon, winding himself round the vessel, defended him from the assaults of the wolf. The father, some time after this, came to see his son, and, supposing that the dragon had destroyed him, hurled his dart at the animal, and, together with the dragon, slew his son. But when he understood, from certain shepherds, that the boy was slain by his own hands, and that the dragon had been the benevolent guardian of his son, he raised a funeral pile for the dragon and the boy in common; and they say, that the place retains vestiges of this funeral pile even at present, and that the city was de-

nominated Ophitea from the dragon. In this city that which principally deserves to be inspected is an adytum, in which they perform the orgies of Bacchus. The entrance to this adytum is visible, but no statue belonging to it is apparent. It is said by the Amphicleenses, that this god predicts to them future events, and affords them remedies against diseases. And the diseases, indeed, of the Amphicleenses and neighbouring cities are healed through the information imparted to them in dreams. But the priest of the adytum possesses a divining power, and uses a divine afflatus. Tithronium is about fifteen stadia distant from Amphiclea. This town is situated in a plain, and does not contain any thing which deserves to be mentioned. From Tithronium to Drymæa there is a distance of twenty stadia. But where the road which leads from Amphiclea to Drymæa joins with that which leads from Tithronium, there are a grove and altar of Apollo, which belong to the Tithronenses. There is likewise a temple here, but it does not contain any statue. On directing your course to the left hand in this part of the country, at the distance of about eighty stadia from Amphiclea, you will arrive at Drymæa, according to the information of Herodotus. The inhabitants of this place were formerly called Naubolenses; and they say that their city was built by Phocus, the son of Æacus. But the Drymæi have an ancient temple of Ceres *Thesmophoros*, or *the legislative deity*. In this temple there is a statue in an upright position; and they celebrate an annual festival in honour of the goddess.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of all the cities, too, in Phocis, except Delphos, Elatea is the greatest. This city is situated opposite to Amphiclea, and is distant from it about one hundred and eighty stadia. The greater part of this road is a plain: but near the walls of Elatea it has a gradual elevation. Through the flat part of the road the river Cephissus flows; and the birds called Otides feed on its banks. The Elatæans defended themselves against, and repelled the army of the Macedonians led by Cassander. They likewise fled from Taxilus, who commanded the army of Mithridates: and for this the Romans gave them their freedom, and suffered them to cultivate their land without paying tribute. There is a dispute concerning their origin: but they assert of themselves that they were formerly Arcadians. For they say, that Elatus, the son of Arcas, when the Phlegyans attacked Delphos, fought in defence of the god, and afterwards took up his residence, together with his forces, in Phocis, and built the city Elatea. Among the cities of Phocis, too, which the Persians burnt, Elatea is numbered. And this city was afflicted with many calamities, in common with the Phocenses: the *Dæmon* likewise prepared for them private misfortunes, through the Macedonians. But it was through the means of Olympiodorus that the siege of Cassander and the Macedonians was rendered ineffectual. Philip, however, the son of Demetrius, having corrupted the principal persons of the city by gifts, raised the greatest terror in the minds of the common people. But Titus Flaminius, being sent from Rome in order to give liberty to Greece, declared that he would restore the Elatæans to their ancient polity, if they would only revolt from the Macedonians. However, whether

it was through the stupidity of the common people, or the persuasion of their rulers, they continued faithful to Philip, and suffered themselves to be besieged by the Romans.

Some time after this, they sustained the siege of Taxilus, who commanded the army of Mithridates and of the Barbarians from Pontus; and for this the Romans gave them their liberty. When, too, in my time the Costoboci, who were a band of robbers, infested Greece by their depredations, and penetrated as far as to Elatea, Mnesibulus, having collected a number of chosen men, made a great slaughter of the Barbarians, but fell himself in the engagement. This Mnesibulus gained other victories in the stadium; and in the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad was victorious in the stadium, and in the repeated course with a shield. In Elatea, therefore, near the road in which the races are run, there is a brazen statue of Mnesibulus. The Elateans, too, have a forum, which deserves to be inspected; and in it there is a statue of Elatus on a pillar. But I am not certain whether they designed by this to honour the builder of their city, or whether they raised this pillar as a mark of honour over a sepulchre. They have, likewise, a temple of Æsculapius, in which there is a statue with a beard. The names of those who made this statue are Timocles and Timarchides; and both of them derived their origin from the Attic land. In the extremity of the city, on the right hand, there are a theatre, and an ancient brazen statue of Minerva. They say, that this goddess defended them against the Barbarians that fought under the command of Taxilus. The temple, too, of Minerva Cranæa is about twenty stadia distant from Elatea. The road to this temple is rather steep, but its elevation cannot be perceived by those that ascend it. At the end of this road there is a hill, which is for the most part steep, but which is neither very bulky nor very lofty. On the top of this hill is the temple of Minerva; and in it there are porches, and places of habitation in the porches.

Those that minister to the goddess dwell here: and the person that presides over the sacred concerns in particular takes up his residence in one of these habitations. They choose this person out of the number of beardless youths, and take care that he resigns his office before he has a beard. He performs the office of priest to the goddess for five continued years; and during all this time he lives with the goddess, and bathes himself in basins after the ancient manner. But the statue of the goddess was made by the sons of Polycles, and has the appearance of one prepared for a battle. Her shield, too, is fashioned in imitation of that among the Athenians which is called the shield of the virgin.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A MOUNTAINOUS road on the right hand of Elatea leads to Abæ and Hyampolis. A public road likewise leads to the same cities; and this is the road which brings you from Orchomenos to Opus. On proceeding, therefore, from Orchomenos to Opus, and turning a little to the left hand, you will see a road which leads to Abæ. The inhabitants of this city say that they came to Phocis from Argos, and that their city was denominated from Abas by whom it was built. They add, that Abas was the son of Lynceus and Hypermnestra the daughter of Danaus. The Abæans, too, have venerated Apollo from an early period of time, and once possessed an oracle of the god. But the Persians did not pay the same veneration to this divinity as the Romans did afterwards. For the Romans, through their piety to Apollo, suffered the Abæans to use their own laws; but the army of Xerxes burnt the temple in Abæ. The Greeks, however, that opposed the Barbarians, did not think proper to rebuild the temples of the Greeks which the Persians had burnt,

that the ruins of them might remain as perpetual monuments of hatred between the two nations. Hence, in the borders of the Haliartians, many half-burnt temples yet remain; and among the Athenians in the Phaleric road there is a temple of Juno half-burnt, and this is the case with a temple of Ceres in Phalerum. The temple in Abæ appears to me to have exhibited an appearance of this kind at that time, till in the Phocic war the Thebans burnt those suppliants that had been vanquished in battle, fled to Abæ, and set on fire the temple which had been before half-burnt by the Persians. And hence, at present, this temple is in the most ruinous condition of all the buildings which have been injured by fire. For this temple, which had been injured by the Persian fire, was afterwards injured in a still greater degree by that of the Bœotians. Near this great temple there is another temple, which is not so large: and this was dedicated by the emperor Adrian to Apollo.

The Abæans, however, have statues more ancient than their temples, and which they themselves dedicated. All these statues are brazen, are in an erect position, and are Apollo, Latona, and Diana. The Abæans, too, have a theatre and a forum, both which are of ancient workmanship. But on returning into the straight road to Opus, you will arrive at Hyampolis. The name of this city indicates the origin of its inhabitants, and the place from which they fled to this country. For the Hyantes being vanquished by Cadmus and his associates, fled from Thebes into these parts. And at first, indeed, their city was called by the neighbouring people the city of the Hyantes; but in process of time it came to be denominated Hyampolis. This city was burnt by Xerxes, and afterwards entirely subverted by Philip. Yet, notwithstanding this, the ornaments of the ancient forum still remain—a *Bouleuterion*, or *place of consultation*, and a theatre not far from the gates. But the emperor Adrian built a porch here, which bears his name.

The inhabitants of this city have but one well; and they have no other water besides this, either for bathing or drinking, except the rain water which they collect in winter. They venerate, too, Diana beyond all the divinities: and they have a temple of this goddess. But I am not able to describe her statue, because they only think proper to open the temple twice a year.

They say, that such victims as are selected for Diana are not afflicted with any disease, and grow fatter by feeding than other cattle. But not only the road to Delphos, or Daulis, through Panopeus, leads from Chæronea to Phocis, and to the road which is called Scissa; but another road, which is rough, and for the most part mountainous, conducts you from Chæronea to a city of the Phocenses, which is called Stiris. The length of this road is about one hundred and twenty stadia. The inhabitants of this city say, that they were formerly Athenians, and that being expelled the Attic land, together with Peteus the son of Orneus by Ægeus, they settled in this place. They add, that the city was called Stiris, because a great part of those that followed Peteus belonged to the Stirienses. But the habitation of the Stirienses is in an elevated and rocky place; and hence in summer they are in want of water. For they have neither many wells, nor is the water which they afford fit to be drunk. It serves, however, for baths, and supplies beasts of burthen with drink. The inhabitants, indeed, fetch the water which they drink from a fountain which is about four stadia distant from the town, and which is dug out of a rock. They are, therefore, obliged to descend in order to obtain this water. In Stiris, too, there is a temple of Ceres, who is called Stiritis. This temple is raised from crude tiles; but the statue of the goddess is made of Pentelican stone, and has torches in its hands. Near it there is another statue, which is ancient, and adorned with fillets.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

But from Stiris to Ambryssus there is a plain road, which is about sixty stadia in length. Between the mountains here there is a plain: and there are many vines in the plain, and plants called *hysgini.* Brambles, too, grow here without intermission as well as vines. This bramble the Ionians and the rest of the Greeks call *coccos,* or *the grain with which scarlet is dyed:* but the Gauls above Phrygia call it in their native tongue *Us.* Its magnitude is nearly the same with that of the white thorn, but its leaves are blacker and softer than those of the bulrush. In other respects, however, it resembles the bulrush. Its fruit is similar to that of the solanum or nightshade, and its magnitude is equal to that of bitter vetches. In the fruit, too, of the coccos a small animal breeds; and this animal, if it finds a passage to the air when the fruit is ripe, immediately takes wing, and exhibits the appearance of a gnat. But now before the animal can be conceived they gather the fruit of the coccos. The blood, too, of this insect is useful for the purpose of dying wool. But Ambryssus is situated under mount Parnassus; and the Delphi are beyond it. They say that the city was denominated from the hero Ambryssus. The Thebans, in the war against Philip and the Macedonians, surrounded Ambryssus with a double wall; and in raising it, used the stone which this place abounds with, and which is of a black colour and very strong. The measure of the circumference of each wall is but little short of two paces; but the altitude of each is about two paces and a half, in that part which has not yet fallen. The interval between the two walls is about one pace. But they neglected adorning these walls with battlements, towers, and other ornaments which are usually added to walls, because they were built

merely for the purposes of defence. The Ambryssenses, too, have a forum, not very large, and many of the stone statues which it contains are broken. On directing your course to Anticyra, you will find the road at first steep; but after you have ascended it for about two stadia it becomes level. And on the right hand of this road there is a temple of Dictynnæan Diana. The Ambryssenses particularly reverence this goddess: and her statue is of Æginean workmanship, and is made of black stone.

All the road from this temple of Diana to Anticyra is on the ascent. They say, that the more ancient name of the city is Cyparissus; and that Homer, in his catalogue of the Phocenses, chooses rather to call this city Cyparissus than Anticyra; for then it began to be called Anticyra. They add, that Anticyreus was contemporary with Hercules. This city lies under the ruins of Medeon. In the beginning too of this account of the Phocensian affairs, I have shown that Medeon was one of those cities that plundered the temple of Apollo. But the Anticyrans were driven from their country by Philip the son of Amyntas. Titus Flaminius, the commander of the Roman army, subverted their city a second time, because they adhered to Philip the son of Demetrius, and king of the Macedonians. But Titus was sent from Rome to assist the Athenians against Philip. The mountains which are above Anticyra are very rocky, and particularly abound with hellebore. And the black sort, indeed, is used by the inhabitants as a purgative; but the other sort, which is white, purifies by acting as an emetic. The Anticyrans, likewise, have brazen statues in their forum. In their haven, too, they have a temple of Neptune, of a moderate size, and which is built of chosen stones. The inward parts are of white plaster. The statue in this temple is of brass, is in an upright position, and stands with one of its feet on a dolphin. One of its hands, too, is on its thigh, and with the other it holds a trident. They have, besides, two gymnasia. One of these contains baths; and in the

other; which is at some distance from this, and is ancient, there is a brazen statue. The inscription on this statue signifies, that it is the image of the pancratiast Xenodamus the Anticyran, who was victorious over men in the Olympic games. If this inscription, therefore, is true, it must follow, that Xenodamus received the olive crown, in the two hundred and eleventh Olympiad, and that the Eleans have omitted to mention him alone, in their account of the victors in the games. Above the forum there is a fountain of water in a well: and a roof supported by pillars screens this well from the sun. A little beyond this well there is a monument raised from such stones as were accidentally found. They say that the sons of Iphitus are buried in this tomb; that one of these returned safe from Troy, and died in his own house; but that the other, Schedius, fell before Troy, and that his bones were brought hither.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

On the right hand of the city, and about the distance of two stadia from it, there is a lofty rock, which is a part of a mountain. On this rock there is a temple of Diana, and the statue of the goddess which it contains was made by Praxiteles. This statue has a torch in its right hand, and a quiver depending from its shoulders; and a dog stands on its left side. The height too of the statue surpasses that of any woman. A city, likewise, named Bulis, borders on Phocis. This city was denominated from Bulon, who brought a colony hither from the cities of ancient Doris. The Bulidii form a part of the convention of Philomelus and the Phocenses. There is a distance of eighty stadia from the Bœotian city Thisbe to Bulis; but from Anticyra through the continent I do not know that there is any road; for be-

tween Anticyra and Bulis there are mountains which are both steep and rough. From Anticyra to the port, a distance of one hundred stadia intervenes. But from the port to Bulis, I conjecture the foot road is about seven stadia in length. A torrent in this part of the country falls into the sea; and the natives call this torrent *Heracleios* or *Herculean*. Bulis, too, is situated on an eminence, to such as sail from Anticyra to Lechæum, a promontory of the Corinthians. More than half the inhabitants here live by catching shell-fish for the dying of purple. But there are not any ornaments in Bulis which deserve much admiration. They have, however, two temples, one of Diana, and the other of Bacchus; and the statues which they contain are made of wood. Whom these were made by, I cannot by any means conjecture.

The Bulidii denominate that god, whom they venerate above all others, *the greatest:* and, in my opinion, this is an appellation of Jupiter. They have, likewise, a fountain which they call Saunion. But to Cirrha, which is a haven of the Delphi, there is a road from Delphos of sixty stadia in length. When you descend into the plain, you will see a Hippodrome in which the equestrian Pythian games are celebrated. With respect to the Taraxippos in Olympia, I have related the particulars concerning it in my account of the Elean affairs. But in this Hippodrome of Apollo, the charioteers sometimes meet with accidents that occasion sorrow, as the Dæmon in every undertaking distributes to men, sometimes prosperous, and sometimes adverse events. However, in this Hippodrome there is nothing which terrifies the horses, and the origin of which might be referred to the anger of some hero, or to some other cause. But the plain which commences from Cirrha is entirely destitute of trees, whether they are unwilling to plant any in it through a certain dire execration, or whether this arises from the inaptitude of the soil. They say that this city, which is called

Cirrha at present, was thus denominated from the nymph Cirrha. However, Homer in the Iliad, and in his hymn to Apollo, calls this city by its ancient name Crissa.

But, in after times, when the inhabitants of Cirrha acted in other respects impiously towards Apollo, and laid waste the country sacred to the god, the Amphictyons thought proper to war on the Cirrhæans, chose for the purpose Clisthenes the Sicyonian tyrant for their general, and brought Solon from Athens, that he might assist them by his councils. On their consulting the oracle, too, respecting the victory, the Pythian deity thus answered them: "You will not be able to subvert the tower of this city, till the waves of azure-eyed Amphytrite, sounding on the black deep, shall wash my grove." Solon, therefore, persuaded them to consecrate the Cirrhæan land to Apollo, so that the grove of the god might be near the sea. He likewise employed another stratagem against the Cirrhæans; for he turned the course of the river Plistus, which flowed into the city. When the inhabitants, too, of the city resisted their besiegers, drinking from wells, and collecting rain water, Solon threw some roots of hellebore into the Plistus; and, when he perceived that the water was sufficiently infected with the poison, turned the river again into its ancient channel. The Cirrhæans, therefore, drinking greedily of the water, were afflicted with a violent flux, and were no longer able to guard the walls. In consequence of this the Amphictyons took the city, and punished the Cirrhæans for their impiety to the god. Then, too, Cirrha became the haven of the Delphi. This city, likewise, contains a temple of Apollo, Diana, and Latona; and in it there are large statues of Attic workmanship. In the same temple, too, there is a statue of Adrastia; but this is not so large as the other statues.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

But the land of those Locrians who are called Ozolæ is next to Phocis after Cirrha. I have heard different reports concerning the appellation of these Locrians. But I will relate all that I have heard. When Orestheus the son of Deucalion reigned in this country, a bitch was delivered of a piece of wood, instead of a whelp. This piece of wood Orestheus buried in the ground; and they say, that in the following spring a vine was produced from it, and that from the wood of its *branches* (*ozoi*) the people were called *Ozolæ*. Others again say, that Nessus, who carried the wife of Hercules over the river Evenus, did not immediately die of the wound which he received from Hercules, but fled to this country; that he died here; and that the air became noxious from the filthy odour of his dead body. There is, likewise, a third report, that a fœtid vapour was exhaled from the water of a certain river; and a fourth, that this country abounds with asphodel, and that the smell of it was very predominant. It is also said, that the first inhabitants of this place were *autochthones*, or *earth-born*; and that, in consequence of their not having yet learnt to weave garments, they used to cover their bodies, as a defence from the cold, with the recent skins of wild beasts; at the same time turning the hairy part of the hide outwards for the sake of ornament. And hence the smell of their bodies necessarily resembled that of the skins. But Amphissa is about one hundred and twenty stadia distant from Delphos, and is the largest and most celebrated city of the Delphi. The inhabitants of this city have joined themselves to the Ætolians, in consequence of being ashamed of the name of the Ozolæ. Indeed, it is probable that Augustus Cæsar subverted the country of the Ætolians, in order to people Nicopolis, and that he caused

a great part of them to migrate to Amphissa. However, these people originated from the Locrians; and their city (as they say) was denominated from Amphissa, the daughter of Macareus the son of Æolus, and who was beloved by Apollo.

This city is adorned with many excellent pieces of workmanship; but the monuments of Amphissa and Andræmon deserve to be mentioned beyond all the rest. They say that Gorgé, the wife of Andræmon, and daughter of Oeneus, is buried here with Andræmon. But in the tower there is a temple of Minerva; and in it an erect brazen statue. They say that this statue was brought by Thoas from Troy, and that it belonged to the Trojan spoils. This, however, I cannot believe. For in the former part of this work, I have shown that the Samians, Rhœcus the son of Philæus, and Theodorus the son of Telecles, were the first that found out the art of casting brass. But I have not yet been able to find any of the works of Theodorus which consist of brass. But in the temple of Ephesian Diana, as you approach to that cell which contains certain pictures, you will see above the altar of Diana, who is called Protothronia, a stone inclosure. Upon this inclosure there are other statues, and an image of a woman near its extremity. This statue was made by Rhœcus; and the Ephesians call it Night. The statue, therefore, of Minerva in Amphissa is more ancient in its appearance, and the art displayed in its fabrication is less polished. The Amphissenses, too, celebrate the mysteries of the youths who are called *Anactes*. Of these gods there are various opinions. For, according to some, they are the Dioscuri; according to others, the Curetes; and a still greater number think that they are the Cabiri. These Locrians too have other cities. Thus, above Amphissa, and towards the continent, is the city Myonia. This city is distant from Amphissa thirty stadia, and the inhabitants dedicated a shield to Jupiter in Olympia.

It is likewise situated in a lofty place, and contains a grove and altar of the gods called *Meilichioi*, or *the mild*. To these divinities they perform nocturnal sacrifices: and they consume the flesh of the victims in the place where they sacrifice before the sun rises. Above the city, too, there is a grove of Neptune; and this they call *Poseidonion*. In it there is a temple of Neptune; but it has not at present any statue. These people, therefore, dwell above Amphissa.

But Oeanthea borders on the sea, and in the neighbourhood of this city is Naupactus. All the other Locrian cities, too, except Amphissa, are in subjection to the Patrenses, who were invested with this authority by the emperor Augustus. In this city, Oeanthea, there is a temple of Venus; and a little above the city there is a grove of cypress and pine-trees. In this grove there are a temple and statue of Diana. But the paintings on the walls are obliterated by time, so that not one of them remains for inspection. I conjecture, that the city was denominated from a woman or a nymph. For as to what pertains to Naupactus, I know it is reported, that the Dorienses, together with the sons of Aristomachus, built a fleet in this place for the purpose of sailing to Peloponnesus; and that from this circumstance the city was denominated. With respect to the Naupactians, how the Athenians gave the Messenians, who took up their residence in Ithome, when Sparta was shaken by an earthquake, Naupactus to inhabit, which they had taken from the Locrians; and how, after the slaughter of the Athenians at Ægospotamos, the Lacedæmonians expelled the Messenians from Naupactus, these particulars I have copiously related in my account of the Messenian affairs. The Messenians, therefore, being obliged to leave Naupactus, the Locrians again took possession of it.

As to the verses which the Greeks call Naupactia, they are commonly attributed to a Milesian; but Charon the son of Pytheus says, that they were composed by the Naupactian

Carcinus: and this is our opinion on the subject. For how can it be reasonable to suppose, that verses upon women, composed by a Milesian, should be called Naupactian? But in Naupactus there is near the sea a temple of Neptune; and in the temple there is an erect statue of brass. There is, likewise, a temple of Diana, which contains a statue of white stone, in the attitude of discharging an arrow. They denominate the goddess Ætola. Venus, too, is honoured in a cavern: and they pray to this goddess on other occasions; but widows in particular request of her, that they may be again married. As to the temple of Æsculapius, it is nothing but ruins. But at first it was built by a private man, whose name was Phalysius. For it happened, that when his eyes were so diseased that he was almost blind, the god who is worshipped in Epidaurus sent to him Anyte, a woman renowned for composing verses, with a letter. Anyte dreamt that she received this letter, but, when she awoke, found it in her hands sealed. She, therefore, sailed to Naupactus, and ordered Phalysius to break the seal, and read its contents. And at first, indeed, he thought it was not possible for him to read the letter, as his eyes were in such a diseased condition; but hoping that it might be the means of procuring him some assistance from Æsculapius, he at length opened it, was immediately cured of his malady, and gave Anyte two thousand pieces of gold, called *stateres*, which was the sum specified in the letter.

NOTES

ON THE

FIRST VOLUME.

PAGE 2. *AND Jupiter is seen holding a sceptre, and victory.*] Jupiter is every where called by Homer, as well as Orpheus, "*the father of gods and men, ruler and king, and the supreme of rulers,* ὑπατον κρειοντων." On account, therefore, of his *commanding* or *ruling* characteristic, he is very properly represented with a sceptre, which is certainly an obvious symbol of command. The symbol of victory likewise justly belongs to him, on account of his all-subduing power, which vanquishes all mundane opposition, and causes the war of the universe to terminate in peace. Proclus, on the Cratylus, informs us, that his sceptre, according to Orpheus, was twenty-four measures in length, by which, says he, the theologist signifies his establishing those two divine orders, the celestial and supercelestial, and his reigning over two series of gods, each of which is characterised by the number twelve. Και γαρ διττας ὑφιστησι διακοσμους, τον τε ουρανιον, και τον ὑπερουρανιον. ὁθεν αυτου και το σκηπτρον ειναι φησιν ο θεολογος πισυρων και εικοσι μετρων, ὡς διττων αρχοντος δυοδεκαδων. I only add farther, at present, that Jupiter, according to his first subsistence, is the Demiurgus, or artificer of the world, and that he is received from thence into all the following orders of gods. Hence there are various Jupiters, who preside over the different parts of the universe, and all of whom are suspended from the first Jupiter, the Demiurgus, so as to form various links of that divine chain, which, on account

of its *incorruptible nature,* is beautifully called by Homer *a golden* chain. The same must be understood of every other divinity, considered according to his highest subsistence; viz. that various other divinities, of the same characteristic, proceed from him into the parts of the world: and, if the reader carefully attends to this theory, when he reads Homer, or the fables of any other ancient theological poet, and is able to apply it properly, he will find that the theology of the ancients is founded in a theory no less beautifully connected than astonishingly profound; no less enchanting than scientific; no less true than marvellous and mystic. See more concerning this most important subject in my Notes on the Cratylus, and Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato; in my Translation of Sallust on the Gods and the World; and of the Emperor Julian's Oration to the Sun, and to the Mother of the Gods.

Page 3. *The goddesses called Genetyllides.*] The Scholiast upon Aristophanes informs us, that *Genetyllis* is an epithet of *Venus,* and that she is so called because she presides over the *generation* of animals. Perhaps, therefore, as there are two Venuses, as we shall see hereafter, the Genetyllides are these two.

Page 5. *And of Iacchus holding a torch.*] There is great propriety in representing Iacchus, or Bacchus, with a torch; for Bacchus is *the mundane intellect;* and fire, with the ancients, was very properly considered as a symbol of *intellect* from its tending upwards.

Page 6.—*and this Bacchus they call Melpomenos.*] The Orphic theologists, as I have shown in p. 101 of the Dissertation prefixed to my Translation of Orpheus's Hymns, called the intellect of each of the celestial spheres by some one of the appellations of Bacchus; and the soul, or animating part of the sphere, by the name of one of the Muses. Agreeably to this, in the orb of the sun, they called the *intellective part Trietericus Bacchus,* and the *animating part Melpomene.* But as the intellect and soul of the sun, and so of every other orb, form one divine nature, from their admirable union with each other, the intellect

of this sphere may be justly called *Melpomenos:* and it would be by no means improper to call the animating part *Trieteric.*

Page 7. *They report, indeed, that the father of Erichthonius, &c.*] The fables of the ancients are, in their secret meaning, utility, and construction, the most beautiful and admirable pieces of composition which the mind of man is capable of framing, though nothing has been so little understood, or so shamefully abused. Of the truth of this observation, the reader, whose mind has been enlightened by true science, will be fully convinced by the following explanation, drawn from ancient sources, of the fable alluded to by Pausanias in this part. Previous to which it will be proper to observe, that the first cause, according to the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophers, on account of his transcendent simplicity, was called *the one,* this name being adapted the best of all others to a nature truly ineffable and unknown. But it is impossible that such a nature could produce this visible world without mediums, since, if this had been the case, all things must have been like himself, natures ineffable and unknown. It is necessary, therefore, that there should be certain mighty powers between the first cause and us: for we, in reality, are nothing more than the dregs of the universe. These mighty powers, from their surpassing similitude to the first god, were very properly called by the ancients gods; and were considered by them as perpetually subsisting, in the most admirable and profound union with each other and the first cause; yet so, as amidst this union, to preserve their own essence distinct from that of the highest god. Hence, as Proclus beautifully observes, they may be compared to trees rooted in the earth: for as these, by their roots, are united with the earth, and become earthly in an eminent degree without being earth itself, so the gods, by their summits, are profoundly united to the first cause, and by this means are transcendently similar to, without being the first cause.

But these mighty powers are called by the poets a *golden chain,* on account of their connexion with each other, and incorruptible nature. Now, the first of these powers you may

call *intellectual*; the second, *vivific*; the third, *Pæonian*, and so on, which the ancients, desiring to signify to us by names, have symbolically denominated. Hence, says Olympiodorus, in MS. Comment. in Gorgiam, we ought not to be disturbed on hearing such names as a Saturnian power, the power Jupiter, and such-like, but explore the things to which they allude. Thus for instance, by a Saturnian power rooted in the first cause, understand a pure intellect: for Κρονος or Saturn is κορος νους, i. e. ὁ καθαρος, or a *pure intellect*. Hence, says Olympiodorus, we call those that are pure and virgins, κοραι. He adds, On this account poets* say, that Saturn devoured his children, and afterwards, again sent them into the light, because intellect is converted to itself, seeks itself, and is itself sought: but he again refunds them, because intellect not only seeks, and procreates, but produces into light and profits. On this account, too, he is called αγκυλομητις, or *inflected counsel*, because an inflected figure verges to itself. Again, as there is nothing disordered and novel in intellect, they represent Saturn as an old man, and as slow in his motion: and hence it is that astrologers say, that such as have Saturn well situated in their nativity are prudent and endued with intellect.

Again, the ancient theologists called life by the name of Jupiter, to whom they gave a two-fold appellation δια and ζηνα, signifying by these names, that he gives *life through* himself. Farther still they assert that the Sun is drawn by four horses, and that he is perpetually young, signifying by this his power, which is motive of the whole of nature subject to his dominion, his fourfold conversions, and the vigour of his energies. But they say that the Moon is drawn by two bulls: by *two*, on account of her increase and diminution; but by *bulls*, because as these till the ground, so the Moon governs all those parts which surround the earth.

This being premised, as a specimen of the manner in which fables are to be understood, let us consider the meaning of that

* This is asserted by Hesiod in his Theogony.

to which Pausanias alludes. According to the fable, then, Vulcan falling in love with Minerva, emitted his seed on the earth, and from hence sprang the race of the Athenians. By Vulcan, therefore, we must understand that divine power which presides over the spermatic and physical reasons which the universe contains: for whatever Nature accomplishes by verging towards bodies, the same Vulcan performs in a divine and exempt manner, by moving Nature, and using her as an instrument in his own proper fabrication: for natural heat has a Vulcanian characteristic, and was produced by Vulcan for the purpose of fabricating a corporeal nature. Vulcan, therefore, is that power which perpetually presides over the fluctuating nature of bodies: and hence, says Olympiodorus, he operates with bellows (*εν φυσαις*), which occultly signifies his operating in natures (*αντι του εν ταις φυσεσι*). But by *earth* we must understand *matter*, which was thus symbolically denominated by the ancients, as we learn from Porphyry de Antr. Nymph. By Minerva we must understand the summit κορυφη of all those intellectual natures that reside in Jupiter, the artificer of the world: or, in other words, she is that deity which illuminates all mundane natures with intelligence. The Athenians therefore, who are souls of a Minerval characteristic, may be very properly said to be the progeny of Vulcan and the Earth, because Vulcan, who perpetually imitates the intellectual energy of Minerva in his fabrication of the sensible universe, imparts to them through this imitation *those vehicles*, and *those spermatic reasons*, through which, in conjunction with *matter*, they become inhabitants of this terrestrial abode. And thus much for the fable alluded to by Pausanias. For farther information on the most interesting subjects discussed in this note, see my translation of the Cratylus, Phædo, Parmenides and Timæus of Plato; my Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries; my Translation of Sallust on the Gods and the World; and of the Emperor Julian's Oration to the Sun, and to the Mother of the Gods.

Page 8. *Apollo, whom they denominate Alexicacus.*] Apollo is Alexicacus, or the disperser of evil, through the divinity Pæan,

whom he contains in his essence, as is evident from the following lines in the beautiful hymn of Proclus to the Sun:

Σης δ'απο μειλιχοδωρος αλεξικακου θιασειης
Παιηων βλαστησεν, εην δ'επελασσεν υγειην,
Πλησας αρμονιης παναπημονος ευρεα κοσμον.

i. e.

"From thy bland dance, *repelling deadly ill*,
Salubrious Pæon blossoms into light,
Health far diffusing, and th'extended world
With streams of harmony innoxious fills."

Page 9. *The daughters of the Sun are said to have bewailed the misfortune of their brother Phaeton.*] The following explanation is given by the Platonic philosophy of the well known fable of Phaeton. Phaeton signifies a comet, by which considerable parts of the earth are at times destroyed. But he is said to be the offspring of the Sun, because a comet, according to the Platonists, is a sublunary body, consisting of a collection of dry vapours, raised and set on fire by the Sun. He is likewise said to have desired the government of the chariot of the Sun, because a comet desires to imitate the circular motion of the Sun. He did not keep the track observed by his parent, because a comet does not move in a direction parallel to that of the Sun. He was blasted by thunder through the anger of Jupiter, because this comet was extinguished by moist vapours. On this account he is said to have fallen into the river Eridanus, because the comet was extinguished through moisture. He was lamented by the Heliades, because the vapour proceeding from the dissolution of the comet flowed downwards, being of a watery nature, and in this respect corresponding to tears. The Heliades were changed into poplar trees, because a juice distills from the poplar tree similar to amber; and amber has a golden splendour; and gold is dedicated to the Sun. The fable therefore obscurely signifies that the juice of the poplar tree is produced from moisture similar to that which was produced by the dissolution of the comet.

Page 12. *It is related by Herodotus.*] Herodotus in Terpsich. informs us, that it was Clisthenes the Athenian, of the family

of the Alcmæonidæ, who divided the four Athenian tribes into ten.

Page 30. *And took care that globular vessels, &c.*] Many of the present day are of opinion, that the ships of the ancients were of a very inconsiderable size, though a small degree of reflection must convince every unprejudiced mind, that ships which contained many banks of rowers, and great quantities of armed men, must have been very large vessels. But the following account of a ship constructed by Ptolemy Philopater, from Plutarch, in his Life of that great commander Demetrius, abundantly proves the truth of what I have advanced. "Before the time of Demetrius, says he, there had not been seen a galley with *fifteen or sixteen banks of oars.* But after Demetrius, Ptolemy Philopater built a prodigious galley of *eighty banks of oars.* It was two hundred and eighty cubits in length. Its height from the water to the top of the stern was forty-eight cubits. It had *four hundred mariners,* and *four thousand rowers:* and besides all this, there was convenient standing for nearly *three thousand soldiers* to fight above the decks." It is true that Plutarch adds, this unwieldy hulk was only fit for show, and not for service; but it affords a very convincing proof, that the ancients had conceptions of framing much larger ships than any of the present time; and it appears to me, that the sixteen-oared galleys of Demetrius, mentioned by Plutarch, must have been at *least* as large as our first rate men of war. The reader may see a large and very entertaining description of this ship, though widely different in some particulars from the above account, in Athenæus, lib. 6. cap. 5.

Page 32. *But the truth of this is confirmed by Homer, &c.*] It is not however the Epirots that Homer alludes to, by a people unacquainted with the sea, and who knew not the use of salt: but as, in the person of Ulysses, Homer has beautifully represented to us the image of one who passes in a regular manner from a sensible to an intellectual life, he very properly describes him, after having braved the storms of the ocean, or the dangers and difficulties attending a life subordinate to that of intellect, as destined to arrive among a people to whom the sea was unknown, or, in other words, to live a life wholly intellectual and

divine. As Pausanias therefore was pious, but without philosophy, he could not have any conception of the concealed philosophical meaning of Homer in the fable of Ulysses. See more concerning this, in my translation of, and notes to, Porphyry's Cave of the Nymphs, in vol. ii. of Proclus on Euclid.

Page 35. *Pyrrhus received a wound in his head.*] It appears from Livy, l, 29. c. 18. and Plutarch in Pyrrho, that Pyrrhus was slain in this manner, as a just punishment for his impiety in plundering the treasuries of the temple of Proserpine.

Page 37. *It was my intention, indeed, &c.*] It is a circumstance remarkably singular, that the Pythagorean philosopher Numenius was, as well as Pausanias, deterred by a dream from disclosing the Eleusinian mysteries. Before the extinction of the genuine religion of mankind, indeed, and the introduction of *gigantic impiety*, it must have been highly improper to unfold these mysteries to all men: but when *delusive faith* succeeded to *scientific theology*, and *divine* mystery was no more, it then became necessary to reveal this most holy and august institution. This appears to have been done by the latter Platonists: and from some important passages which fortunately yet remain in the manuscript Commentaries of these great men on Plato, I have been enabled to unfold the leading particulars of this interesting affair. These particulars the reader may find in my *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.*

Page 38. *Near this is the temple of Celestial Venus.*] The Celestial Venus (for there are two Venuses, as is well known) is that divine power which collects together the different genera of things, according to one desire of beauty. She is therefore very properly said to derive her subsistence from the prolific power of Heaven: for Heaven, as I have shown in my notes on the Cratylus, composes that order of gods which is called by the Chaldean Theologists νοητος και νοερος, i. e. *intelligible and at the same time intellectual*; which corresponds to *intelligence*; and is wholly of *a containing and connective nature.* "But the second Venus, says Proclus (in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum), Jupiter produces from his own generative powers, in conjunction with Dione: and this goddess likewise proceeds from foam, after the same manner with the more ancient Venus, as Orpheus

evinces. But these goddesses differ from each other, according to the causes of their production, their orders, and their powers. For she that proceeds from the genitals of Heaven is supermundane, leads upwards to intelligible beauty, is the supplier of an unpolluted life, and separates from generation. But the Venus that proceeds from Dione governs all the co-ordinations in the celestial world and the earth, binds them to each other, and perfects their generative progressions, through a kindred conjunction. These divinities too are united with each other, through a similitude of subsistence: for they both proceed from generative powers; one from that of the containing power of Heaven, and the other from that of Jupiter the artificer of the world." He adds, "that by the sea we must understand an expanded and circumscribed life; by its profundity, the universally-extended progression of such a life; and by the foam, the greatest purity of nature, that which is full of prolific light and power, that which swims upon all life, and is as it were, its highest flower."

It is remarkable that, according to the first of these passages, the second Venus was produced from foam in the same manner as the first, as Proclus proves from the authority of the Orphic writings: for this information is not to be gathered from any other writer that I am acquainted with. Nor need it seem strange, that this should be mentioned by no ancient author prior to Proclus: for before the establishment of the Christian religion, the Orphic writings were deservedly held in such great veneration, from containing the ceremonies of a mode of worship *coeval with the universe*, that the less mystic parts of them were but seldom cited, and the most mystic, not at all. As Proclus, therefore, was the man that unfolded the theology and philosophy of the Greeks in the most consummate perfection, and this at a period when the ancient religion was almost entirely extirpated, and the Orphic writings were considered as sacred but by a few, we cannot wonder at meeting with this, and much similar information, in the works of this incomparable man.

Page 43. *They assert that he was once bound by Pluto, &c.*] It appears to me, that the great confusion and absurdity with

which modern explanation of the fables of the ancients are replete, may be ascribed to the two following causes: the want of ability to distinguish, in the same person, history from fable; and ignorance of the secret meaning of ancient fable. Thus, in the present instance, most of the moderns would, I am persuaded, consider this story about Theseus as at bottom merely historical, though it is, in fact, one of those ancient fables which are replete with the most philosophical and mystic information. At present, indeed, it does not seem to be even suspected by any one, that the theology of the Greeks, when viewed in its genuine purity, is a thing the most sublime and scientific that the mind of man can possibly devise; and that consequently, as the Grecian fables are the progeny of this theology, they cannot fail of being remarkably scientific and sublime. That the reader, therefore, whose mental eye is not so darkened by oblivion as to exclude all possibility of *recovering* the use of it, in the present life, may be convinced of the truth of the preceding observations, let him attend to the following information, derived from the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato.

There are three orders of souls which are the perpetual attendants of the gods. The first of these orders angels compose; the second, dæmons; and the third, heroes. But as there is no vacuum either in incorporeal or corporeal natures, but, on the contrary, profound union, it is necessary, in order to accomplish this, that the last link of a superior order should coalesce with the summit of one proximately inferior. Hence, therefore, between *essential* heroes, who perpetually attend the gods, and are consequently impassive and pure, and the bulk of human souls, who descend with passivity and impurity, it is necessary there should be an order of human souls, who descend with impassivity and purity. These souls were called by the ancients, with great propriety, Heroes, on account of their high degree of proximity and alliance to such as are essentially Heroes. Hercules, Theseus, Pythagoras, Plato, &c. were souls of this kind, who descended into generation both to benefit other souls, and in compliance with that necessity by which all natures inferior to the perpetual attendants of the gods are at

times obliged to descend. The characteristics of these heroic souls are grandeur of action, elevation, and magnificence; and Plato, in his Laws, says, that we ought to venerate them, and perform funeral sacrifices in honour of their memory. They are, too, of an undefiled nature when compared with other human souls, than whom they are likewise far more intellectual. They have much of an elevated nature, and which is properly liberated from an inclination to matter. Hence they are easily led back to the intelligible world, in which they live for many periods; while, on the contrary, the most irrational kind of souls are either never led back, or this is accomplished with great difficulty, or continues for a very inconsiderable period of time.

But as every god, beginning from on high, produces his proper series as far as to the last of things, and this series comprehends many essences different from each other, such as Angelical, Dæmoniacal, Heroical, Nymphical, and the like, the lowest powers of these orders have a great communion and physical sympathy with the human race, and contribute to the perfection of all their natural operations, and particularly to their procreations. As these heroic souls, too, have a twofold form of life, viz. *doxastic* and *dianvetic*, the former of which is called by Plato, in the Timæus, *the circle of difference*; and the latter, *the circle of sameness*, and which are characterised by the properties of *male* and *female*;—hence these souls at one time exhibit a deiform power, by energizing according to the masculine prerogative of their nature, or the circle of sameness, and at another time according to their feminine prerogative, or the circle of difference; yet so, as that according to both these energies they act with rectitude, and without merging themselves in the darkness of body. They likewise know the natures prior to their own, and exercise a providential care over inferior concerns, without, at the same time, having that propensity to such concerns which is found in the bulk of mankind. But the souls which act erroneously according to the energies of both these circles, or which, in other words, neither exhibit accurate specimens of practical or intellectual virtue—these differ in no respect from *gregarious* souls, or the

herd of mankind, with whom the circle of sameness is fettered, and the circle of difference sustains all-various fractures and distortions.

As it is impossible, therefore, that these heroic souls can act with equal vigour and perfection, according to both these circles at once, as this is the province of natures more divine than the human, it is necessary that they must sometimes descend and energize principally according to their *doxastic* part, and sometimes according to their more intellectual part. Hence, one of these circles must energize naturally, and the other be hindered from its proper energy. On this account Heroes are called ἡμιθεοι Demigods, as having only one of their circles illuminated by the gods. Such of these, therefore, as have the circle of sameness unfettered, as are roused to an elevated life, and are moved about it, according to a deific energy—these are said to have a god for their father, and a mortal for their mother, through a defect with respect to the *doxastic* form of life. But such, on the contrary, as energize without impediment according to the circle of difference, who act with becoming rectitude in practical affairs, and at the same time *enthusiastically*, or, in other words, under the inspiring influence of divinity—these are said to have a mortal for their father, and a goddess for their mother. And in short, rectitude of energy in each of these circles is to be ascribed to a divine cause, which illuminates, invigorates, and excites them in the most unrestrained and impassive manner, without destroying freedom of energy in the circles themselves, or causing any partial affection, sympathy, or tendency in illuminating deity. When the circle of sameness, therefore, has dominion, the divine cause of illumination is said to be masculine and paternal; but when the circle of difference predominates, it is said to be maternal. Hence Achilles acts with rectitude in practical affairs, and at the same time exhibits specimens of magnificent, vehement, and divinely-inspired energy, as being the son of a goddess. And such is his attachment to practical virtue, that even when in Hades, Homer represents him as desiring a union with body, that he may assist his father. While on the contrary Minos and

Rhadamanthus, who were heroes illuminated by Jupiter, raised themselves from generation to true being, and meddled with mortal concerns no farther than absolute necessity required.

Theseus therefore, who as well as Hercules was a hero, who energized principally according to an intellectual life, and who was a lover of both intelligible and sensible beauty, may be said to have been bound by Pluto, while he was united with body, because every thing sublunary is under the dominion of this god; and to have been liberated by Hercules, because through his assistance he was led from a sensible to an intellectual life, which has the same relation to a corporeal life, as the light of day to the darkness of night.

Page 43. *But it appears to me, that Homer, &c.*] We should rather say that Homer derived his knowledge respecting the souls in Hades, and the names of the infernal rivers which it contains, from the mystic traditions of Orpheus, who instituted the religion of Greece, and that the rivers called Acheron and Cocytus in Cichyrus were denominated from their similitude to those of the same name in Hades. But the reader must not suppose that the infernal rivers described by Homer are nothing more than the paradoxical sports of poetical fancy; but, as Proclus on Plato's Republic beautifully observes, it is proper to believe, that for those who require chastisement and purification, subterranean places are prepared, which, from their receiving the various defluxions of the elements above the earth, are called rivers by mythologists, and are filled with dæmons who preside over souls, and who are of an avenging, punishing, purifying, judicial characteristic. Hence, says he, the poetry of Homer is not to be condemned, when it calls the infernal region a place

"Horrid and dark, and odious to the gods."

For the variety and imagination of the presiding dæmons excite all this obscurity and horror. I only add, that Acheron is a place adapted to the purgation of care and sorrow, and which also corresponds to air and the meridional part of the world; but that Cocytus together with Styx correspond to earth and

the western centre, and punish hatred, through lamentations and grief. See more on this subject, in my Introduction to the Phædo of Plato.

Page 45. *Olen.*] Olen was a Lycian poet, and composed hymns in honour of Apollo at Delos.

Page 48. *That Celestial Venus is the eldest of those divinities who are called the Parcæ.*] We have already observed, that there are two Venuses, one *supermundane*, the other *mundane*. The first of these is the *Celestial* Venus, mentioned in this place by Pausanias, as the eldest of the Parcæ, though according to the Orphic hymn to this goddess, and which I have no doubt is the truth, she is *the ruler of the Fates:* for the Hymn says και κρατεεις τριτσων μοιρων, "thou governest the three fates."

Page 49. *And the temple of Diana the huntress.*] The sphere of the Moon is, as is well known, attributed to the goddess Diana: and this divinity, as we are informed by Proclus in Tim. p. 260, "is the cause of nature to mortals, as she is the self-conspicuous image of fontal Nature." Σεληνη μεν αιτια τοις θνητοις της φυσεως, το αυτοπτον αγαλμα ουσα της πηγαιας φυσεως. As the Moon therefore is the cause of the existence of all natural life, so likewise of its dissolution; for the natural life which she imparts to all animals and plants, brings with it a limited duration, and, when the period of its existence is accomplished, returns to this divinity as its fountain. Hence Diana is very properly represented as a huntress: for through certain unapparent powers resident in the rays of the Moon, of which arrows are an image, she takes away, or in other words, receives back again, the natural life which she gave.

Page 50. *Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven.*] The meaning of this beautiful fable appears to me to be as follows: Vulcan, as we have already observed, is that divine power which presides over the spermatic and physical reasons of the universe; or, in other words, which by using nature as an instrument, produces all the bodies which the universe contains. Juno is the inspective guardian of all motion and progression. Hence she is said to have hurled Vulcan from heaven, because she is the cause of Vulcan's prolific progression to the ex-

tremity of things, and of his being every where present with his productions in the most unrestrained manner—in a manner, by which this progression, continually suspended from its proper principle, pervades through every order. But the golden throne which Vulcan sends to Juno, is that vehicle depending on the goddess, and from illuminating which she has a mundane establishment: and the unapparent bonds which it contains are those vital connectives by which soul becomes united with body. These bonds are said to be fixed in the throne by Vulcan, because this deity is superior to Juno, considered according to her mundane establishment. All the gods except Bacchus were unable to persuade Vulcan to free Juno from her bonds; because Bacchus, or the mundane intellect, is the monad or proximately exempt producing cause of the ultimate progressions of all the gods; and hence Vulcan, considered according to his last procession, is suspended from Bacchus by whom at the same time he is converted on high. Hence Bacchus is said to have led him back to heaven: but it is added, by means of intoxication; i. e. by deific intelligence, through which every inferior deity is converted to deities of a superior characteristic, and all the gods become absorbed in the ineffable principle of all things. Lastly, by Vulcan freeing Juno from her bonds, nothing more is meant than, that this goddess according to her mundane establishment receives a power from Vulcan, through which while she illuminates with a divine light her depending vehicle, she is at the same time exempt from all inclination and passive affection towards the subject of her illuminations: and the same reasoning must be applied to every mundane divinity.

Page 52. *Gave that oracle concerning the bladder.*] This oracle is preserved by Plutarch in his life of Theseus, and is thus, except in the last line, translated by Langhorn:

> From royal stems thy honour, Theseus, springs,
> By Jove belov'd, the sire supreme of kings.
> See rising towns, see wide-extended states,
> On thee dependent, ask their future fates!
> Hence, hence with fear! Thy favour'd bark shall ride,
> Safe, like a bladder, o'er the foamy tide.

Page 53. *And that Bacchus himself appeared as their leader.*]

The following Platonic dogma, which belongs to the greatest arcana of ancient Wisdom, solves all that appears to be so absurd and ridiculous to the atheistical and superficial in such-like historical relations as the present. Every deity beginning from on high, produces his own proper series to the last of things; and this series comprehends in itself many essences differing from each other. Thus, for instance, the Sun produces *Angelical, Dæmoniacal, Heroical, Nymphical, Panical,* and such-like powers, each of which subsists according to a solar characteristic: and the same reasoning must be applied to every other divinity. All these powers are the perpetual attendants of the Gods, but they have not all of them an essence *wholly* superior to man. For after *essential* Heroes an order of souls follows, who proximately govern the affairs of men, and are dæmoniacal *κατα σχεσιν, according to habitude or alliance,* but not essentially. Of this kind are the Nymphs that sympathize with waters, Pans with the feet of goats, and the like; and they differ from those powers that are essentially of a dæmoniacal characteristic, in this, that they assume a variety of shapes (each of the others immutably preserving one form), are subject to various passions, and are the causes of all-various deception to mankind. Proclus in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum observes, that the Minerva which so often appeared to Ulysses and Telemachus was of this latter kind. *ὁτι εισι και πανες τραγοσκελεις, και αθηναϊκαι ψυχαι σχημασι ποικιλοις χρωμεναι, και προσεχως ὑπερ τους ανθρωπους πολιτευομεναι, οια ην ἡ Αθηνα ἡ τῳ Οδυσσει, και τῳ Τελεμαχῳ φανεισα.* i. e. "There are Pans with the feet of goats, and Minerval souls assuming a variety of shapes, and proximately governing mankind; such as was the Minerva that appeared to Ulysses and Telemachus." The Bacchus therefore, that appeared to the Lacedæmonians in the war mentioned by Pausanias, must be considered as belonging to one of the orders of those powers we have just enumerated.

Page 57. *Theseus, when he departed to slay the Minotaur.*] The explanation given by the moderns of the Minotaur, and the other parts of the fable to which it belongs, is as absurd and foreign from the truth, as any of their solutions of ancient fables.

"I shall make it appear (says the Abbé Banier* with all the *lawless levity* of a Frenchman, and in the true spirit of a Catholic divine) that the *Minotaur*, with *Pasiphae*, and the rest of that fable, contain nothing but an intrigue of the queen of Crete with a captain named Taurus; and the artifice of Dædalus only a sly confident." And in this impudent manner he explains the most celebrated fables of antiquity. It is true indeed, that my own countrymen are at present unacquainted with the divine wisdom of the ancients; but I do not know of any English writer that has attempted to explain the Grecian fables in a manner so impertinent, trifling, and absurd. Surely every thinking mind must unite with me in acknowledging, that if the ancients intended to conceal in their fables nothing more than what Banier presents us with, their fables are far more puerile than the riddles composed by the ingenious Mr. Newbery for children. Lord Bacon, though far from penetrating the profound meaning of the ancients in these fables, saw enough to be convinced that they were replete with the highest wisdom of which he had any conception; and has done all in attempting to unfold them that great genius without the assistance of *genuine philosophy* is able to effect. But the most piercing sagacity, the most brilliant wit, and the most exquisite subtilty of thought, without this assistance, are here of no avail.

It is indeed easy for ingenious men to give an explanation of an ancient fable, which to the superficial observer shall appear to be the precise meaning which its inventor designed to convey, though it be in reality very far from the truth. This may be easily accounted for by considering, that all fables are images of truths, but those of the ancients, of truths with which but few are acquainted. Hence, like pictures of unknown persons, they become the subjects of endless conjecture and absurd opinion, from the similitude which every one *fancies* he discovers in them to objects with which he has been for a long time familiar. He who understands the explanations given by the Platonic philosophers of these fables will subscribe to the truth of this observation, as it is impossible that these interpretations could so

* Vol. i. of the translation of his Mythology, p. 29.

wonderfully harmonize with the external or apparent meaning of the fables, without being the true explanations of their latent sense. But to return to the fable in question. Olympiodorus in his MS. Commentary on the Gorgias of Plato, beautifully unfolds most of it as follows: "The *Minotaur* signifies the savage passions which our nature contains. The *thread* which Ariadne gave to Theseus, a certain divine power conjoined with our nature. And the *labyrinth*, the obliquity and abundant variety of life. Theseus therefore, being one of the most excellent characters, vanquished this impediment, and freed others together with himself." ο μεν γαρ Μινωΐαυρος τα εν ημιν θηριωδη παθη σημαινει. ο δε μιλος, θειαν τινα δυναμιν εξηρτημενην. ὁ δε λαβυρινθος το σκολικον και πολυ ποικιλον του βιου. ο τοινυν Θησεως αριστος ων, καΐεκρατησεν, αλλα και αλλοις πεμφθεΐσας μεθ' αυΐου.

Page 58. *For there is nothing extant of Musæus, &c.*] Unfortunately, at present, not one of the works of the ancient Musæus is extant: for it is well known to all the learned, that the little poem entitled, *The Loves of Hero and Leander* was composed by a grammarian of a much later age than that of Musæus.

Page 60. *Hygia, who they report is the daughter of Æsculapius.*] *Hygia*, or Health, in the Orphic hymn to Æsculapius, is called the wife of Æsculapius. But this is by no means discordant with what Pausanias asserts: for a communion of energies among divine natures was called by ancient theologists ἱερος γαμος, or a sacred marriage. Hence, Health, considered as proceeding from Æsculapius, may be called his daughter, and, as communicating with him in divine energies, his wife.

Page 60. *When Bacchus first came to Attica.*] The reader must be careful to remember, that the Bacchus here mentioned was one of those heroes of whom we have given an account in the note to p. 50; and that he was called Bacchus because he descended from the deity of that name.

Page 62. *Hercules, according to the fable, strangling the Dragons.*] I have already observed concerning Hercules, that he was one of those exalted characters belonging to the human

race, who, from their high degree of proximity and alliance to *essentiab Heroes*, were justly called by the ancients Heroes κατα σχεσιν, or *according to habitude*, and that he energized principally according to an intellectual life. As Hercules, therefore, was a character of this kind, it would be absurd to consider the prodigies related of him as historical facts; but we should view them in the light of fables, under which certain divine truths are concealed. Indeed, to such as consider the accounts given of Hercules as historical facts, we may very properly address the words of Plato to Dionysius, when he was interrogating him on this very subject, I mean the achievements of Hercules, "that if the things reported of Hercules are true, he was neither the son of Jupiter, nor blessed, but on the contrary miserable: but if he was the son of Jupiter and blessed, these accounts are false.*" αλλως τε δει τοις τα τοιαυτα μυθαρια λεγουσιν, ειπειν ο απεκριθη Πλατων τω Διονυσιω περι του Ηρακλεους· οτι ει μεν ταυτα αληθη εστιν, α περι αυτου λεγουσιν, ουκ ειε διιος ην, ουκ ευδαιμων, αλλ' αθλιος· ει δε διιος ην και ευδαιμων ψευδη εστι ταυτα.

But the meaning of the present *fable*, as Pausanias very properly calls it, appears to be as follows: A dragon is a symbol of the partial life of the soul, *i. e.* of the life which she leads while separated from the gods: for as a dragon is said to cast off its skin and become young again, so the soul acquires rejuvenescency by always descending into generation. It is therefore by no means wonderful, that Hercules, who was born with intellectual prerogatives so much superior to the bulk of mankind, should even from his infancy have been remarkably united with divine natures, and thus may be said to have vanquished a partial life, which is implied by his strangling dragons in his infancy. I only add farther concerning Hercules at present, that as he descended from Jupiter, it appears to me that his life was both *politic* and *philosophic*, and this in the highest degree possible to human nature.

Page 62. *Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter.*] Minerva, as Plato beautifully observes in the Cratylus, is *deific intelligence*; and hence she is said to have proceeded from the *head*

* Olympiodori MSS. Schol. in Platonis Gorgiam.

of Jupiter, or the demiurgic intellect, by which the world was produced, because she is the progeny of the *deific intelligence* of this intellect, which is the very summit, flower, and as it were *head* of Jupiter.

Page 62. *For they first of all denominated Minerva Ergane.*] *Ergane* means *artificer:* and the propriety of this appellation must be obvious to every one, from what we observed in the preceding note; I mean, that she is the immediate progeny of the *artificer of the universe.*

Page 63. *Jupiter, who is denominated Polieus.*] *Polieus* means *the guardian of a city;* and this is a very proper epithet of Jupiter, because he is the cause of a *politic* and philosophic life.

Page 64. *In her hand she holds a spear, a shield lies at her feet, and near her spear there is a dragon, which may perhaps be Erichthonius; and at the base of the statue the generation of Pandora is represented.*] The *spear* of Minerva is a symbol of that all-pervading power, through which the gods without control are enabled to pervade the universe, to aid sublunary forms, and to amputate base matter. Her *shield* signifies that untamed power, which first appears in her essence, and from thence becomes an invincible defence to the gods; through which they remain secure from passion, and reign over the universe triumphant and pure. A dragon, too, is very properly considered as one of the symbols belonging to this goddess. For, as we have before observed, this animal signifies the partial life of the soul, or, in other words, the condition of its *intellect* when separated from *divine intellects:* and it is the province of Minerva, as we are informed by Proclus, to establish all *partial intellects*, in the *universal intellect* of Jupiter.

With respect to Pandora, it is well known that, according to the fable, she was a woman made out of earth by Vulcan, at the command of Jupiter, in order to take vengeance on Prometheus for having stolen fire from heaven; that she was adorned by each god with some particular gift; and that she was afterwards sent by Jupiter to Epimetheus the brother of Prometheus with a box full of all various evils. The recondite meaning however of this fable is, I fear, at present perfectly unknown; and therefore I

shall present the reader with the following beautiful explanation of it from the MS. Scholia of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato:—"*Prometheus* is the inspective guardian of the descent of rational souls: for to exert a *providential energy* is the employment of the rational soul, and prior to any thing else, to know itself. Irrational natures indeed perceive through percussion, and prior to impulsion know nothing: but the rational nature is able, prior to information from another, to know what is useful. Hence *Epimetheus* is the inspective guardian of the irrational soul, because it knows through percussion, and not prior to it. Prometheus, therefore, is that power which presides over the descent of rational souls. But *fire* signifies the rational soul itself; because, as fire tends upwards, so the rational soul pursues things on high. But you will say, Why is this fire said to have been stolen? I answer, that which is stolen is transferred from its proper place to one that is foreign. Since, therefore, the rational soul is sent from its proper place of abode on high, to earth as to a foreign region, on this account the fire is said to be stolen. But why was it concealed in a reed? Because a reed is cavernous like a conduit pipe (συριγγωδης), and therefore signifies the fluid body (το ρευστον σωμα) in which the soul is carried. But why was the fire stolen contrary to the will of Jupiter? Again the fable speaks as a fable: for both Prometheus and Jupiter are willing that the soul should abide on high; but as it is requisite that she should descend, the fable fabricates particulars accommodated to the persons. And it represents, indeed, the superior character, which is Jupiter, as unwilling; for he wishes the soul always to abide on high: but the inferior character Prometheus obliges her to descend. Jupiter, therefore, ordered *Pandora* to be made. And what else is this, than *the irrational soul**, which is of a feminine characteristic? For as it was necessary that the soul should descend to these lower regions, but, being incorporeal and

* The true man, or the rational soul, consists of *intellect, the reasoning power*, and *opinion*: but the summit of the irrational life is the *phantasy* under which *desire*, like a many-headed savage beast, and *anger*, like a raging lion, subsist.

divine, it was impossible for her to be conjoined with body without a medium, hence she becomes united with it through the irrational soul. But this irrational soul was called Pandora, because each of the gods bestowed on it some particular gift. And this signifies that the illuminations which terrestrial natures receive, take place through the celestial bodies*."

I add farther concerning Minerva, from Proclus on the Timæus, that she is called *Phospher*, because she extends the whole of intellectual light. The *Saviour*, as establishing every partial intellect in the total intellections of her father Jupiter. *Calliergos*, or *producing beautiful works*, as comprehending all the works of her father in intellectual beauty. A *virgin*, as extending an undefiled and unmingled purity. *Aigiochos*, or *ægis-bearing*, as moving the whole of Fate, and governing its productions. *Philosophic*, as replete with intellectual knowledge, and the light of wisdom. And *Philopolemic*, as uniformly ruling over the opposing natures which the world contains. Proclus farther informs us in MSS. Schol. in Cratylum, "that this goddess is called *Victory* and *Health*; the former, because she causes intellect to rule over necessity, and form over matter; and the latter, because she preserves the universe perpetually whole, perfect, exempt from age, and free from disease. It is the property, therefore, of this goddess to elevate and distribute, and through an intellectual dance, as it were, to connect, establish, and defend inferior natures in such as are more divine." η Αθηνα ΝΙΚΗ προσαγορευεται και ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, τον μεν νουν κραιειν ποιουσα της αναγκης, και το ειδος της υλης, ολον δ' αει και τελειον, και αγηρων, και ανοσον διαφυλαττουσα το παν. οικειον ουν της του θεου ταυτης, και το αναγειν, και μεριζειν, και δια της νοερας χορειας συναπτειν τοις θειοτεροις, και ενιδρυειν και φρουρειν εν αυτοις.

Page 70. *It is reported that this statue fell from heaven.*] The reason why some statues were called by the ancients *Diopetcis*,

* For the irrational soul is an *immaterial body*, or, in other words, *vitalized extension*, such as the mathematical bodies which we frame in the phantasy; and the celestial bodies are of this kind.

is (says Jamblichus apud Phot. p. 554) "because the occult art by which they were fabricated by human hands, was inconspicuous."

Page 70. *Callimachus made for the statue of the goddess a lamp of gold, which, when filled with oil, burns day and night for the space of a year, &c.*] The ancients with great propriety dedicated a burning lamp to Minerva, as she is the goddess of Wisdom: for as truth is light itself, and has a most intimate alliance with wisdom, it is impossible that any corporeal substance can more aptly symbolize with wisdom than sensible light. Hence Asclepius Trallianus in Schol. MSS. in Nicom. Arithmet. Isagogen. beautifully derives the etymon of σοφια *wisdom* from το σαφες *the perspicuous and clear.* But for the sake of the liberal reader I will transcribe the passage, as the manuscript is very rare. αρα δε τι εστι σοφια; φαμεν ὁτι σαφια τις ουσα, ως σαφηνιξουσα τα παντα. αρα δε ποθεν αυτο τουτο σαφια ελεχθη; λεγομεν απο του φωτος. οθεν και Αριστοτελης, παντ' ουσα φανταστα, ταυτα πεφωτισμενα και καθαρα καλει. επει ουν το σαφες ειωθε τα κεκρυμμενα εν σκοτῳ τῃ αγνοιᾳ (l. της αγνοιας) εις φως και γνωσιν επιφερειν, δια τουτο εκληθη ουτως. *i. e.* "What then is *wisdom?* We reply that it is a certain *clearness,* as being that which renders all things perspicuous. But from whence was this word *clearness* denominated? We reply, from light. From whence also Aristotle calls all such things as are *apparent, luminous,* and *pure.* Since, therefore, *the clear* is accustomed to lead into light and knowledge things concealed in the darkness of ignorance, on this account it is thus denominated."

The following remarkable passage, indeed, shows that the ancients were in possession of a stone, from which they made *ever-burning* wicks for lamps. This passage is from Apollonius, in his little treatise entitled Ιστοριαι Θαυμασιαι, or *Wonderful Histories,* and is taken from Tacus. Ταχος εν τῳ περι λιθων, ο καρυστιος (φησιν) λεγομενος λιθος εστιφυσεις εχει ερινωδεις και χροωδεις, εξ ου νηθεται και υφαινεται χειρεκμαγεια. στρεφουσι δε εξ αυτου και εν λυχνια, και εστιν καιομενα λαμπρα και ακαταπαυστα. των δε εκμαγειων των ρυπαινομενων η πλυσις γιγνεται, ου δι' υδατος, αλλα χλιμαλις (forte κλημαλις) καεται, και τοτε το εκμαγειον εστιτηθεται.

και ο μεν ρυπος απορρει, αυτο δε λευκον και καθαρον γινεται υπο του πυρος, και παλιν εις τας αυλας εγχρηζει χρειας. τα δ' ελλυχνια μενει τον απανλα χρονον ακαλασκευαστα καιομενα μετ' ελαιου. δοκιμαζει δε και τους πλωματιζομενους η οσμη του ελλυχνιου καιομενου. γιγνεται δε ο λιθος ουτος, και εν Καρυστῳ μεν, αφ' ου και τουνομα ελαβεν. πολυς δε εν Κυπρῳ καταβαινοντων απο τους Γεραν̃δρου ως επι Σολους πορευομενοις, εν αριστερᾳ του Ελμαιου υπο κατω πετρων. και κατα το πανσελληνον αυξεται, και παλιν φθιναντος του σεληνιου μειουται και ο λιθος. That is, "Tacus, in his Treatise on Stones, says, that the stone which is called Carystius contains a certain woolly and coloured substance, from which garments are spun and wove. Wicks for lamps, likewise, are twisted from this substance, which burn with a clear light, without being consumed. These garments, too, are not purified from the dirt which they contract, by water; but they enkindle the branches of vines, and then place the garments on them. The dirt is by this means removed, and the garments become white and pure through the fire, and adapted to the purposes for which they were before employed. *But the wicks which are formed from this substance for lamps, when burnt with oil, give a perpetual light, without requiring fresh supply.* By the smell, too, of these lamps, those that labour under the falling sickness are detected. This stone grows in Carystus, from whence it derives its name. It likewise abounds in that part of Cyprus through which you descend from Gerandrum towards Soli, on the left hand of Elmæus beneath the rocks. This stone increases about the full moon, and is diminished when the moon decreases." It appears from this curious passage, that this stone *Carystius* must be the same with *linum vivum*, or *asbestinum*.

What Plutarch, too, in his treatise, *Why the Oracles cease to give answers*, says concerning the non-existence of this stone in his time, particularly deserves the attention of the philosophic reader. "It is not long (says he) since the quarry of Carystus has ceased to yield a certain soft stone, which used to be drawn into a fine thread; for I suppose that some here have seen towels, net-work, and coifs, woven of that thread which could not be burnt; but when they were soiled with using, people

threw them into the fire, and took them out white and clean; for the fire only served to purify them. But all this is vanished, and nothing is to be found in the quarry now, but some few fibres, or hairy threads, lying scattered up and down. Aristotle and his followers affirm, that the cause of all this is owing to an exhalation within the earth, the phænomena proceeding from which fail, or again make their appearance, when this exhalation fails, or revives and recovers itself again." The reason why this stone sometimes fails, and at others appears again, can only be satisfactorily accounted for by that theory respecting fertile and barren periods, which the reader will find unfolded in the note to page 97.

With respect to the lamp mentioned by Pausanias, whether its burning day and night for a year was entirely owing to the wick being made of Carpasian flax, so that the lamp was not larger than the lamps used in common, deserves to be investigated by the curious in natural researches. But that the ancients possessed the art of constructing lamps that would burn for many ages without supply, I think the liberal reader will be fully convinced, from perusing the following account of lamps found in ancient sepulchres, collected from Licetus, De Lucernis Antiquorum, Baptista Porta, and Pancirollus.

In the first place, then, Baptista Porta, in his treatise of Natural Magic, relates, that about the year 1550, in the island Nesis in Naples, a marble sepulchre of a certain Roman was discovered, upon the opening of which, a phial was found containing a burning lamp. This lamp became extinct on breaking the phial, and exposing the light to the open air. It appeared that this lamp had been concealed before the advent of Christ. Those who saw the lamp reported, that it emitted a most splendid flame. But the most celebrated is the lamp of Pallas, the son of Evander, who was killed by Turnus, as Virgil relates in the tenth book of his Æneid.

This was discovered not far from the city of Rome, in the year 1401, by a countryman, who, digging deeper than usual, observed a stone sepulchre, containing the body of a man of extraordinary size, which was as entire as if recently interred,

and which had a large wound in the breast. Above the head of the deceased there was found a lamp burning with perpetual fire, which neither wind nor water, nor any other superinduced liquor, could extinquish: but the lamp being bored in the bottom, and broke by the importunate enemies of this wonderful light, the flame immediately vanished. That this was the body of Pallas, is evident from the inscription on the tomb, which was as follows:

> Pallas, Evander's son, whom Turnus' spear
> In battle slew, of mighty bulk, lies here.

In the Appian Road, too, at Rome, in the time of Pope Paul the Third, a lamp was discovered burning in the sepulchre of Tullia the daughter of Cicero, which became extinct on the admission of the external air. From whence it appears that this lamp had continued to shine for about 1550 years. The historian, Pancirollus, who mentions this lamp, is a respectable author, and relates it as a well-known fact, in his curious book, entitled, Concerning memorable Things known to the Ancients, but now lost.

Saint Austin, too, (De Civitat. Dei, l. 21. cap. 6.) says, that a lamp was found in a temple dedicated to Venus, which was always exposed to the open weather, and could never be consumed or extinguished. And Ludovicus Vives, his commentator, mentions another lamp, which was found a little before his time, that had continued burning for 1050 years.

A very remarkable lamp was discovered about the year 1500 near Atestes, a town belonging to Padua in Italy, by a rustic, who, digging deeper than usual, found an earthen urn, containing another urn, in which last was a lamp placed between two cylindrical vessels, one of gold, and the other of silver, and each of which was full of a very pure liquor, by whose virtue, it is probable, the lamp had continued to shine for upwards of 1500 years; and, unless it had been exposed to the air, might have continued its wonderful light for a still greater period of time. This curious lamp was the workmanship of one Maximus Olybius, who most probably effected this wonder by a profound

skill in the chymical art. On the greater urn some verses were inscribed in Latin which may be translated as follows:

I.

Plunderers, forbear this gift to touch,
'Tis awful Pluto's own:
A secret rare the world conceals,
To such as you unknown.

II.

Olybius in this slender vase
The elements has chain'd;
Digested with laborious art,
From secret science gain'd.

III.

With guardian care two copious urns
The costly juice confine,
Lest, through the ruins of decay,
The lamp should cease to shine.

On the lesser urn were the following verses:

Plunderers with prying eyes, away!
What mean ye by this curious stay?
Hence with your cunning, patron god,
With bonnet wing'd, and magic rod!
Sacred alone to Pluto's name
This mighty work of endless fame.

It appears to me that the perpetuity of these lamps was owing to the consummate tenacity of the unctuous matter with which the flame was united, being so proportioned to the strength of the fire, that, like the radical moisture and natural heat in animals, neither of them could conquer or destroy the other. Licetus, who is of this opinion, observes, that in order to preserve this equality of proportion, the ancients hid these lamps in caverns, or close monuments: and hence it has happened, that on opening these tombs, the admission of fresh air to the lamps has produced so great an inequality between the flame and the oil, that they have been presently extinguished.

Page 71. *Canephoroi.*] So called from carrying canisters in which the sacred rites were deposited.

Page 74. *The Crommyonian boar.*] I have already observed that the labours of Hercules are allegorical: perhaps, therefore, his destroying this boar signifies his subduing the fierce and savage nature of the passions.

Page 76. *But it is said of Pan, &c.*] Pan, according to the Orphic theology, is the monad or summit of all the sublunary local gods and dæmons, and first subsists at the extremity of the *intelligible* order, being there, as we are informed by Damascius, no other than the celebrated Protogonus, or Phanes. As the Moon, therefore, as well as many other divinities, is celebrated by the Orphic theologists as both *male* and *female*, perhaps Pan is the masculine power of the moon; and this opinion is strengthened by the following curious passage from Stephanus de Urbibus, in the article *Panos*. "There is (says he) a great statue of Pan, with its private parts raised in a straight direction to the length of seven fingers. The right hand of the statue holds whips elevated towards the moon, of which luminary they say Pan is an image." εστι δε και του θεου αγαλμα μεγα, ορθιακον εχων το αιδοιον εις επτα δακτυλους. επαιρει τε μαστιγας τη δεξια σεληνῃ, ης εἰδωλον φασιν ειναι τον Πανα. Let the reader, however, carefully remember that the Pan seen by the Lacedæmonian messenger was a dæmoniacal power, and not the divinity of this name.

Page 76. *Æschylus was the first that represented these divinities with snakes in their hair.*] Those who are of opinion that the Orphic hymns are spurious compositions, will doubtless imagine that their opinion is indisputably confirmed by the present passage; for the Furies in these hymns* are called οφιοπλοκαμοι, or *snaky-haired*; and consequently it may be said, they must have been written posterior to the time of Æschylus, if what Pausanias asserts be true. It must, however, be remembered, that Æschylus was accused of inserting in his trage-

* Vid. hym. 69.

dies things belonging to the mysteries*; and I shall produce some very strong arguments in the course of these notes, to prove that the Orphic hymns which have come down to us, are the very hymns which were used in the Eleusinian mysteries. If this be the case, either Pausanias is mistaken in what he asserts of Æschylus in this place, or, which appears to me to be more probable, being a man religiously fearful of disclosing any particulars belonging to the mysteries, he means that no one prior to Æschylus *openly* represented the Furies with snakes in their hair; or, in other words, that Æschylus was the first *profane* writer (as a Christian would express himself when speaking of some Pagan, with reference to the authors of the Bible) who described the Furies in this manner. I shall only observe farther at present, that there is a passage in the Cataplus of Lucian, which very much corroborates my opinion. The passage is as follows: "Tell me, Cynic, for you are initiated in the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, do not the present particulars appear to you similar to those which takes place in the Mysteries?—Cyn. Very much so. See then, here comes a certain torch-bearer, with *a dreadful and threatening countenance. Is it therefore one of the Furies?*" ειπε μοι, ειλεσθης γαρ, ω Κυνισκε, τα Ελευσινια, ουχ ομοια τοις εκει τα ενθαδε σοι δοκει; ΚΥΝ. ευ λεγεις. ιδον ουν προσερχεται τις δαδουχουσα τις, φοβερον τι, και απειλητικον προσβλεπουσα· ἡ αρα που Ερινυς εστιν; It is evident from this passage, that the Furies in the Mysteries were of a terrible appearance, which Pausanias informs us was not the case with their statues: and it is from the circumstance of the statues of these divinities not being in the least dreadful in their appearance, that he infers Æschylus was the first that represented them so. Hence, as the Mysteries were instituted long before Æschylus, it is evident, that the terrible aspects of the Furies were not invented by him; and it is more than probable that this dreadful appearance was principally caused by the snakes in their hair. The same Orphic hymn, too, calls the Furies φοβεροωπες, i. e. *having terrific aspects.*

* Vid. Fabric. Biblioth. tom. i. p. 606.

Page 77.] The verses of Homer, alluded to by Pausanias, are to be found in the 23d book of the Iliad; and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> ——————————— and emulate thy sire,
> The great Mecistheus; who, in days of yore,
> In Theban games the noblest trophy bore,
> (The games ordain'd dead Œdipus to grace)
> And singly vanquish'd the Cadmæan race.

Page 79. *For the pomp of the Panathenaia.*] The Athenians had two festivals in honour of Minerva, the former of which, on account of the greater preparation required in its celebration, was called *the greater Panathenaia*; and the latter, on account of its requiring a less apparatus, was denominated *the lesser Panathenaia*. The celebration of them likewise was distinguished by longer and shorter periods of time. In the greater Panathenaia, too, the veil of the goddess was carried about, in which, says Proclus, the giants were represented vanquished by the Olympian gods. Proclus farther informs us (in Tim. p. 26) that these festivals signified the beautiful order which proceeds into the world from intellect, and the unconfused distinction of mundane contrarieties. But what are we to understand by the veil of the goddess, and the victory obtained over the giants? I answer, her veil is an emblem of that one life or nature of the universe, which, as Proclus observes, the goddess weaves, by those intellectual vital powers which her essence contains; and the battle of the giants against the Olympian gods, signifies the opposition between the last demiurgic powers of the universe (or those powers which partially fabricate and proximately preside over mundane natures), and such as are first. But Minerva is said to have vanquished the giants, because she rules over these ultimate artificers of things, by her unifying powers.

Page 79. *Ariste and Calliste.*] That is, *best and most beautiful.* It appears to me, that Diana was thus denominated from her intimate alliance with Apollo: for Proclus, in his MSS.

Scholia on the Cratylus, informs us that there is a great correspondence between the Coric* or virginal series, and the Apolloniacal. "For (says he) the former is the unity of the middle triad of rulers, *i. e.* of the supermundane gods, and emits from herself vivific powers; but the latter converts the solar principles to one union; and the solar principles are allotted a subsistence immediately after the vivific. Hence, according to Orpheus, when Ceres delivered up the government to Proserpine, she thus admonished her;

Αυλαρ Απολλωνος Θαλερον λεχος εισαναβασα,
Τεξεῖαι αγλαα τεκνα πυριφλεγεθοντα προσωποις.

i. e.

But next Apollo's florid bed ascend;
For thus the god famed offspring shall beget,
Refulgent with the beams of glowing fire.

But how could this be the case, unless there was a considerable degree of communion between these divinities?" As Apollo, therefore, from his analogy to *the good*, or the first cause, may very properly be called *the best* (for Apollo emits from his essence intellectual, and *the good* superessential light), Diana likewise may be thus denominated from her intimate alliance with Apollo. The same reason, too, accounts for her being called *most beautiful*: for Mercury, *Venus*, and Apollo compose the supermundane elevating triad, and are most profoundly united to each other.

Page 85. *The dæmon Anteros.*] Of this power, who avenges the injuries of lovers, the following remarkable story is told by Eunapius in his Life of Jamblichus: "This philosopher went with his disciples to Gadara in Syria, a place so famous for baths, that after Baiæ in Campania it is the second in the Roman empire. Here a dispute about baths arising while they were bathing, Jamblichus smiling said to them: 'Though what I am going to disclose is not pious, yet for your sakes it shall be

* This series constitutes the vivific triad of supermundane gods, and consists of Diana, Proserpine, and Minerva; or, according to the Chaldean theologists, of Hecate, Soul, and Virtue, which are only different names of the same powers.

undertaken;' and at the same time he ordered his disciples to inquire of the natives, what appellations had been formerly given to two of the hot fountains, which were indeed less than the others, but more elegant. Upon inquiry, they found themselves unable to discover the cause of their nomination; but were informed that the one was called *Eros* or *Love*, and the other *Anteros*, or *the god who avenges the injuries of lovers*. Jamblichus immediately touching the water with his hand (for he sat, perhaps, on the margin of the fountain), and murmuring a few words, raised from the bottom of the fountain a fair boy, of a moderate stature, whose hair seemed to be tinged with gold, and the upper part of whose breast was of a luminous appearance. His companions being astonished at the novelty of the affair, 'Let us pass on,' says he, 'to the next fountain;' and at the same time he arose, fixed in thought, and, performing the same ceremonies as before, called forth the other Love, who was in all respects similar to the former, except that his hair scattered in his neck was blacker, and was like the sun in refulgence. At the same time, both the boys eagerly embraced Jamblichus, as if he had been their natural parent; but he immediately restored them to their proper seats, and, when he had washed, departed from the place." Let the reader, however, be careful to remember, that though *Eros* and *Anteros* are gods considered according to their first subsistence, yet these which are mentioned by Eunapius were of the dæmoniacal order; and were perhaps dæmons only *κατὰ σχεσιν, according to habitude or alliance.*

Page 85. *Carrying with them burning lamps.*] The propriety of employing burning lamps, in a contest sacred to Prometheus, is sufficiently apparent from the account we have already given of this divinity. For Prometheus, we have shown, is the inspective guardian of the descent of rational souls; and fire, from its tending upwards, is an emblem of the rational soul. As a burning lamp, therefore, may be considered as a very proper image of our rational part, it appears to me, that this custom adopted by the Athenians, of running from the altar of Prometheus to the city with burning lamps, in which he alone

was victorious whose lamp remained unextinguished in the race, was intended to signify that he is the true conqueror in the race of life, whose rational part is not extinguished, or, in other words, does not become dormant in the career.

Page 85. *For Socrates, in the night before that day on which Plato became his disciple, saw in a dream a swan fly to his bosom.*] The soul of Plato, according to the ancients, descended from Apollo, to whom the swan is sacred; and consequently this bird plainly signified Plato in the dream of Socrates. Olympiodorus, too, in his Life of Plato, informs us, that when that philosopher was near his death, he dreamt that he was changed into a swan, and that, by flying from tree to tree, he gave much trouble to the fowlers in catching him: and this dream, says he, according to the Socratic Simmias, signified that his meaning would not be apprehended by his interpreters. For interpreters are similar to fowlers, by attempting to explain the conceptions of the ancients: and Plato's meaning cannot be apprehended, because his discourses, like those of Homer, may be understood physically, ethically, theologically, and in short multifariously. For the souls of Homer and Plato are said to have been produced all-harmonic. Let it, however, be remembered, that though Plato's meaning was by no means apprehended by his more ancient interpreters, yet it is most divinely and fully unfolded by the latter Platonists, among whom Olympiodorus holds a very distinguished place.

Page 85. *Apollo changed him into the bird whose name he bore.*] Nothing more appears to be signified by this fable, than that Cycnus was a man wholly given to external harmony, and who therefore knew nothing of philosophy, which is the greatest music, as Plato in the Phædo beautifully observes. In consequence, therefore, of this neglect of his soul, he become united to the life of a swan, as the punishment of his guilt. But observe, that when the rational soul is said to be changed into a brute, the meaning is, that the soul becomes bound to the life of a brute in the same manner as our presiding dæmons are united to our souls: for the human soul never becomes the animating part of a brute, any more than dæmons become human souls.

I only add, that the doctrine of transmigration, when viewed in this light, is extremely beautiful; and Syrianus and Proclus were, I believe, the first by whom it was thus explained.

Page 86. *There is a temple of Ceres Thesmophorus.*] Ceres was with great propriety worshipped by the ancients as *Thesmophorus*, or *the legislator*: for this goddess, as we are informed by Sallust, *De Diis et Mundo*, according to her mundane distribution is the divinity of the planet Saturn: Saturn, according to Plato in the Cratylus, is *pure intellect*; and *law*, according to the same great philosopher in his Laws, is νου διανόμη, *a distribution of intellect.*

Page 86. *The first fruits of the Hyperboreans are sent.*] It appears from the Scholiast on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians Boreans: there is therefore (says Larcher) great probability, that they called the people beyond these Hyperboreans. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, mentions these people in the following lines, as translated by Dr. Dodd:

> ——— states flowing from each clime
> Of the well-peopled globe, from east to west,
> From Arctic and *Antarctic* pole—where Heaven
> The virtue of the habitants rewards
> With length of days: these to the Delian god
> Begin the grand procession; and in hand
> The holy sheaves and mystic offerings bear.

Page 86. *Commit them to the Arimaspi.*] The Arimaspi were Hyperborean Cyclopians, who dwelt about the Scythian river Arimaspus, which is full of golden sands.

Page 87. *Apollo Dionysidotus.*] Perhaps instead of διονυσοδοτος it should be διονυσωτηρ, *Dionysoter* or *the saviour of Bacchus.* My reasons for supposing that this alteration is requisite, are derived from the following curious and beautiful passage, from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo of Plato: "In order," says he, "to the soul's descent, it is necessary that she should first establish an animating image of herself in the body; and in the second place, that she should sympathize with the image, according to a similitude of form: for every form

passes into a sameness with itself, through naturally verging to itself. In the third place, being situated in a divisible nature, it is necessary that she should be lacerated and scattered together with such a nature, and that she should fall into an ultimate distribution, till, through the energies of a cathartic life, she raises herself from the extreme dispersion, and loosens the bond of sympathy through which she is united with body: and till, at the same time energizing without the image, she becomes established according to her primary life. And we may behold a resemblance of all this in the fable respecting Bacchus, the exemplar of our intellect. For it is said that Dionysius, establishing his image in a mirror, pursued it, and thus became distributed into the universe. But Apollo excited and elevated Bacchus; this god being a cathartic deity, and the true *saviour of Dionysius*, and on this account he is celebrated as *Dionysoter**." Such as are desirous of seeing the original of this curious passage, and many important particulars respecting the mysteries of Bacchus unfolded, from Greek manuscripts, may consult my *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.*

Page 87. *And of Earth, whom they call a mighty goddess.*] Earth is called by Plato, in the Timæus, the most ancient and first of the gods in the heavens; and this, says Proclus, on account of her stability and generative power, her symphony with heaven, and her position in the centre of the universe. For the centre possesses a mighty power in the universe, as connecting all its circulations; and hence it was called by the Pythagoræans the tower of Jupiter, from its containing a demiurgic guard. And if we recollect the Platonic hypothesis concerning the earth, that our habitable part is nothing but a dark hollow, and very different from the true earth, which is adorned with a beauty similar to that of the heavens, we shall have no occasion to wonder at her being called the first and most ancient of the celestial gods. But the Platonic hypothesis which Proclus alludes to is this, which is an Egyptian tradition: that the summit of the earth is ethereal, in order that it may unite with

* In the MS. it is διονυσεὺης; but should doubtless be read διονυσωτηρ.

the orb of the moon; that it is every where perforated with holes like a pumice-stone; and that we reside at the bottom of certain of these hollows, while we fancy that we dwell on the summit of the earth. The great antiquity of this doctrine may be collected from what Homer says in the Iliad, that Heaven and Earth are common to the three divinities, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto*: and consequently each of these must be divided between them. The earth, therefore, must be divided analogous to the universe, into that which is celestial, terrestrial, and middle. And there must be some part of it ethereal, which belongs to Jupiter. As this part, therefore, cannot be the surface on which we reside, it must consequently be contiguous to the moon. See more concerning this curious and interesting theory, in my Introductions to the Phædo and Timæus of Plato.

Page 87. *Ceres Anesidora.*] This word means *the bestower of gifts*, and is agreeable to the etymon of Ceres given by Plato in the Cratylus: for δημητηρ, says he, is διδουσα μητηρ, *a bestowing mother*. But why this goddess was so called by the wise ancients, the following beautiful extract from the MSS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus will abundantly unfold: "It is requisite to consider this goddess, not only as the supplier of corporeal food, but, beginning from the gods, we should view her as first of all supplying them with aliment, afterwards the natures posterior to the gods, and last of all such as are indigent of corporeal aliment. For the characteristic of love shines forth first of all in the gods: and this is the case with the medicinal and prophetic powers of Apollo, and with those of every other divinity. But nutriment, when considered with reference to the gods, is the communication of intellectual plenitude from more exalted natures to those of an inferior rank. Gods, therefore, are nourished, when they view with the eye of intellect gods prior to themselves; when they are perfected, and view intelligible beauties, such as justice itself, temperance itself, and the like, as Plato observes in the Phædrus." Shortly after this, he observes, "that according to Orpheus, Ceres is

* Γαια δ' ετι ξυνη παντων και μακρος Ολυμπος. Iliad. 15.

the same with Rhea: for Orpheus says that, subsisting on high in unproceeding union with Saturn, she is *Rhea*, but that, by emitting and generating Jupiter, she is Ceres. For thus he speaks:

Ρειην το πριν ουσαν, επει διος επλειο μητηρ
Γεγονε Δημητης *.

The goddess who was *Rhea*, when she bore
Jove, became *Ceres*.

"But Hesiod says that Ceres is the daughter of Rhea. It is, however, evident that these theologists harmonize with each other: for whether this goddess proceeds from union with Saturn to a secondary order, or whether she is the first progeny of Rhea, she is still the same. Ceres, therefore, being of this kind, and receiving the most ancient and ruling order, from the *whole* vivific Rhea †, and comprehending the middle centres of *whole* vivification ‡, she fills all supermundane natures with the rivers of all-perfect life, pouring upon all things vitality, indivisibly and uniformly.

"But prior to all this, she unfolds to us the demiurgic intellect, (Jupiter) and imparts to him the power of vivifying wholes. For, as Saturn supplies her from on high with the cause of being; so Ceres from on high, and from her own prolific bosoms, pours forth vivification to the demiurgus. But possessing herself the middle of all vivific deity, she governs the whole fountains which she contains, and comprehends the one bond of the first and last powers of life. She stably convolves, too, and contains all secondary fountains. But she leads forth the uniform causes of prior natures to the generation of others. This goddess, too, comprehends *Vesta* and *Juno*: in her right hand parts Juno, who pours forth the whole order of souls; but in her left hand parts Vesta, who leads forth all the light of Virtue. Hence, Ceres is with great propriety called by Plato *mother*, and, at the same time, the *supplier of aliment*. For, so

* This Orphic fragment was never before published.

† Της ολης ζωογονου Ρεας. ‡ Της ολης ζωογονιας

far as she comprehends in herself the cause of Juno, she is a mother; but as containing Vesta in her essence, she is the supplier of aliment. But the paradigm of this goddess is *Night: for immortal Night is called the nurse of the gods.* Night, however, is the cause of aliment intelligibly*: for that which is intelligible is, according to the oracle †, the aliment of the intellectual orders of gods. But Ceres first of all separates the two kinds of aliment in the gods, as Orpheus says:

‡ Μησαῖο γαρ προπολους, και αμφιπολους, και οπαδους.
Μησαῖο δ'αμβροσιην, και ερυθρου νεκταρος αρδρον.
Μησαῖο δ'αγλαα εργα μελισσαων εριβομβων.

i. e.

She cares for powers ministrant, whether they
Or gods *precede*, or *follow*, or *surround*:
Ambrosia, and *tenacious nectar red*,
Are too the objects of her bounteous care.
Last to the bee her providence extends,
Who gathers honey with resounding hum.

"Ceres, therefore, our sovereign mistress (δεσποινα), not only generates life, but that which gives perfection to life; and this from supernal natures to such as are last: *for virtue is the perfection of souls.* Hence mothers who are connected with the circulations of time, bring forth their offspring in imitation of this two-fold and eternal generation of Ceres. For, at the same time that they send forth their young into the light, they extend to them milk naturally produced, as their food."

Page 89. *And when the Athenians inquired of the oracle, &c.*] There are very few, I fear, of the present day, who do not consider the oracles of the ancients as mere delusions; and who do not ascribe the accomplishment of their predictions, either to the tricks of designing priests, or the random power of chance.

* Because Night subsists at the summit of that divine order, which is called by the Chaldæan theologists νοητος και νοερος, *intelligible, and at the same time intellectual.*

† That is, according to one of the Chaldæan oracles.

‡ These verses, too, were never before printed.

This, however, must necessarily be the case at a period when divine influence is totally withdrawn, and delusion and perfect atheism are the substitutes for the genuine religion of mankind. While men, indeed, are ignorant that true theology (and such was that of the ancients) is perfectly scientific, being founded on the clearest and most natural conceptions of the human mind; and while, in consequence of this ignorance, they believe nothing to be real but objects of sense, the doctrine of a communication between men and divine natures must appear ridiculous in the extreme. And yet one should think, that history must convince the most incredulous, that the numerous instances in which the predictions of oracles have been so wonderfully accomplished, could not be the result either of chance or intrigue. Indeed, he who can read the many instances of this kind adduced by Pausanias, and yet deny the possibility of man communicating with higher powers, must either be an atheist or a fool.

For the sake, therefore, of the lover of divinity, I shall summarily disclose the scientific theory of oracles, according to the philosophy of Plato. As there is not one father of the universe only, one providence, and one divine law, but many fathers subordinate to the one first father, many administrators of providence posterior to, and comprehended in, the one universal providence of the demiurgus of all things, and many laws proceeding from one first law, it is necessary that there should be different allotments, and a diversity of divine distribution. Hence there are allotments of partial souls, such as ours, of unpolluted souls, such as heroes, beneficent dæmons and angels, and of the gods themselves. But the allotments of angels, dæmons, and heroes are suspended from those of the gods, and possess a more various distribution: for one divine allotment comprehends many angelic allotments, and a still greater number of such as are dæmoniacal. For multitude is every where suspended from one principle. And as in essences, powers, and energies, progressions from these generate a kindred multitude; so with respect to allotments, such as are first transcend in power, but are diminished according to multitude, as being

nearer the one father of the universe, and the one total providence which he contains; but such as are second to these possess a subordinate power, and an increased multitude.

Such, then, being the general particulars respecting the theory of allotments, the next thing to be considered is, that the allotment of a divine nature, whether celestial or sublunary, is an unrestrained government, and a providential energy about the subjects of its government. By unrestrained government I mean an exemption from all passivity, and from any tendency towards or alliance with subordinate natures; for every thing divine is at the same time every where and no where. It is every where, considered as illuminating all things with its own ineffable light; and it is no where, considered as exempt from all the properties of the natures which it illumines. The same, too, must be understood, in an inferior degree, of those beneficent natures that are the perpetual attendants of the gods: for the energy of these also is unrestrained, but not in that transcendent manner in which it is possessed by the gods. In the third place, the allotments of the gods and their attendants are perpetual: for immutability is the essential property of a divine nature, and consequently must be communicated to that which perpetually attends divinity, and exerts a beneficent energy. But notwithstanding this immutability of better natures, yet in order to the proper reception of their illuminations, it is necessary that there should be as perfect an aptitude in the recipients as they are capable of receiving. Hence, as in generation, or the sublunary region, wholes remain perpetually according to nature, but their parts are sometimes according and sometimes contrary to nature, this must be true of the parts of the earth. When those circulations, therefore, take place, during which the parts of the earth subsist according to nature, and this is accompanied with a concurrence of proper instruments and places, then divine illumination is abundantly and properly received. But when the parts of the earth subsist contrary to nature, as at present, and which has been the case ever since the oracles ceased, then, as there is no longer an aptitude of *places, instruments,* and *times,* divine influence can no longer

be received, though the illuminations of divine natures continue immutably the same; just, says Proclus, as if a face standing in the same position, a mirror should at one time receive a clear image of it, and at another, one obscure and debile, or indeed no image at all. For, as the same incomparable man farther observes, it is no more proper to refer the defect of divine inspiration to the gods, than to accuse the sun as the cause of the moon being eclipsed, instead of the conical shadow of the earth into which the moon falls.

Page 91. *There is a temple of Nemesis, &c.*] Proclus on Hesiod informs us, that *Nemesis* was celebrated in hymns as *the angel of justice*; and that she is represented by Hesiod clothed in a white garment, because she is an intellectual power, far removed from the atheistic and dark essence of the passions.

Page 91. *The river of the Ocean.*] Herodotus in Euterpe says, "That he knows no river of the name of Ocean, and that he believes it was either invented by Homer, or some poet of former times:" and Mr. Wood is of opinion, "That the Ocean in Homer's time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys." Herodotus is certainly right in what he says, as he only considered the sensible Ocean; and Mr. Wood discovers some sagacity in conjecturing, that Ocean formerly had a different meaning from what it has at present. For, when Homer calls Ocean a *river*, he alludes to the deity of this name, who belongs to that order of gods which is called intellectual, and of which Saturn is the summit; who is a fontal deity πηγαιος θεος, and is therefore very properly denominated a *river*, as giving birth to the *procession* of the gods into the sensible universe, and being, according to his last subsistence, the source of the sea and the all-various streams that flow upon the earth. For every cause is that primarily, which its effect is secondarily: and hence causes were assigned by ancient theologists the same names with their effects. Concerning this deity, Proclus in his MSS. Scholia on the Cratylus observes as follows: "Ocean is the cause to all the gods of acute and vigorous energy, and bounds the distinctions of the first, middle, and last orders; converting himself to himself, and to his proper principles,

through swiftness of intellect, but moving all things from himself to energies accommodated to their natures; perfecting their powers, and causing them to possess a never-failing subsistence." And in his Commentaries on the Timæus, p. 296, he observes of this deity, considered according to his *sublunary* subsistence, "that he is the cause of motion, progression, and power, conferring vigour and prolific abundance on intellectual lives, but swiftness of energy and purity in generations to souls, and facility of motion to bodies. That considered as subsisting in the gods, (*i. e.* in sublunary gods) he comprehends a motive and providential cause: but in angels he comprehends an unfolding and intellectual swiftness; in dæmons efficacious power; and in heroes he is the supplier of a magnificent and efficacious life. Besides this, he imparts to every element the characteristic of his nature. Thus, with respect to air, he produces all the mutation of aerial natures, and is, as Aristotle observes, the cause of the circle of the meteors.

"But in the watery element he is the cause of fertility, facility of motion, and all-various powers: for, according to the poet*,

From him the sea and every river flows.

In earth he is the source of generative perfection, of the distinction of forms, and of generation and corruption. Hence, such terrestrial orders as are vivific and demiurgic he defines; and such powers as comprehend the forms of earth, and are the inspective guardians of generation, he excites and multiplies, and calls forth into motion." And shortly after he adds, "That *Ocean* in fine is the cause of all motion; intellectual, belonging to souls, and natural, to all secondary natures: but *Tethys* is the cause of all the distinction of the streams proceeding from the Ocean, conferring on each a proper purity of natural motion."

I only add, that it is peculiar to the Platonic philosophy to suspend physics from theology, and this in imitation of Orpheus, who suspends Nature herself from the vivific goddess Rhea, who

* Homer.

is the cause of all life, both that which is intellectual, and that which is inseparable from the fluctuating nature of bodies. This peculiarity must surely be pleasing to every one that is not atheistically inclined; at the same time, that by leading us up to such principles as are *truly* first, it enables us to remove the veil which conceals the mystic wisdom of the ancients, and which causes it to appear in the eyes of the multitude inextricably confused, and beyond all comparison absurd. The truth of this observation will be immediately assented to by any one who understands the above explanation of Ocean.

Page 92. *Table of the Sun.*] The table of the Sun, according to Herodotus in Thal. was this:—"A plain in the vicinity of the city (above Syene in Æthiopia) was filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates: during the day, whoever pleased was at liberty to go and satisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth spontaneously produces all these viands: this, however, is what they term the table of the Sun." I have given the passage as translated by Mr. Beloe.

Page 92. *Atlas is so lofty, &c.*] The great height of the mountain Atlas is very successfully employed by Proclus in Tim. p. 56, as an argument for the truth of that Platonic hypothesis concerning the earth, which we have mentioned in a former note. The passage in which he employs this argument is as follows: "It is here requisite to remember the Platonic hypothesis concerning the earth. For Plato does not measure its magnitude after the same manner as mathematicians; but thinks that its interval is much greater, as Socrates asserts in the Phædo. In which dialogue also he says, that there are many habitable parts similar to the places of our abode. And hence he relates, that an island and continent of this kind existed in the external or Atlantic sea. For, indeed, if the earth be naturally spherical, it is necessary that it should be such according to its greatest part. But the parts which we inhabit, both internally and externally, exhibit great inequality. In some parts of the earth, therefore, there must be an ex-

panded plain, and an interval extended on high. *For, according to the saying of Heraclitus, he who passes through a very profound region will arrive at the Atlantic mountain, whose magnitude is such, according to the relation of the Æthiopian historians, that it touches the æther, and casts a shadow of five thousand stadia in extent; for from the ninth hour of the day the sun is concealed by it, even to his perfect demersion under the earth.* Nor is this wonderful: for Athos, a Macedonian mountain, casts a shadow as far as to Lemnos, which is distant from it seven hundred stadia. Nor are such particulars as these, which Marcellus the Æthiopic historian mentions, related only concerning the Atlantic mountain; but Ptolemy also says that the Lunar mountains are of an immense height; and Aristotle, that Caucasus is enlightened by the rays of the sun a third part of the night after sunset, and a third part before the rising of the sun; and if any one considers the whole magnitude of the earth, bounded by its elevated parts, he will conclude that it is truly of a prodigious magnitude, according to the assertion of Plato." I only add, that what Proclus observes here from Ptolemy about the height of the Lunar mountains is contradicted by Mr. Bruce, who says in his book, on the Source of the Nile, that these mountains are by no means of that prodigious altitude which they were supposed to be by the ancients. However, for my own part, I prefer Ptolemy's authority to that of Mr. Bruce, notwithstanding the person of Mr. Bruce during his travels was, as he informs us, by no means despicable; and in addition to this, his circumstances were affluent, and his connexions powerful!

Page 94. *I can also mention others that were once men, and were after their death worshipped as gods by the Greeks.*] I have already abundantly shown in a former note, that there is an order of souls among men, who, from their superior purity, and magnanimity, and their proximity to beings essentially more excellent, were very properly denominated by the ancients, *heroes*. These elevated souls, too, were justly called by the same names as the divinities from which they descended: for the characteristic of every divine nature extends itself to the

last of things, so as even to leave a vestige of its ineffable prerogatives in the dark and rebounding receptacle of matter. Heroes, however, though they were worshipped by the ancients, yet they were neither considered as gods, nor worshipped as such, by those who paid them no other honours than what were ordained by the Grecian laws, as is evident from Plato's Laws. Pausanias, therefore, in the passage before us, seems, for want of a philosophical acquaintance with the religion of his country, to confound the divine and human nature: and it is to passages of this nature that we must ascribe the general prevalence at present of that most licentious and ignorant opinion, which asserts *all* the gods of the ancients to be nothing more than deified men.

Page 97. *And that I might conjecture his bulk, &c.*] That, in the heroic age, men abounded of a prodigious stature cannot be denied, without supposing the whole of the Iliad to be a fable; though, on the other hand, to imagine with the *Scotch Grammarian* that there has been a gradual declension of the stature of mankind from the most early periods, and that the human species will at last come to nothing, is an opinion too extravagant and unphilosophical to deserve the labour of confutation. The fact is, that the superior strength and size of the celebrated heroes of antiquity can only be accounted for satisfactorily, by having recourse to that recondite wisdom of the ancients, which was first discovered in the colleges of the Ægyptian priests, and was afterwards delivered ænigmatically by Pythagoras, scientifically by Plato, and *entheastically*, or *according to a deific energy* (ενθεαστικως), by his latter disciples. From this most arcane and sublime wisdom we learn, that all the parts of the universe cannot participate the providence of the gods in a similar manner, but that some of its parts must enjoy this eternally, and others temporally; some in a primary, and others in a secondary degree. For the universe being a perfect whole, must have a first, a middle, and a last part. But its first parts, as having the most excellent subsistence, must always exist according to nature; and its last parts must sometimes subsist according to, and sometimes contrary to nature.

Hence the celestial bodies, which are the first parts of the universe, perpetually subsist according to nature, both the whole spheres, and the multitude co-ordinate to these *wholes**; and the only alteration which they experience is a mutation of figure, and variation of light at different periods: but in the sublunary region, while the spheres of each of the elements remain, on account of their subsistence as *wholes*, always according to nature, the parts of these wholes have sometimes a natural and sometimes an unnatural subsistence; for thus alone can the circle of generation unfold all the variety which it contains.

But the different periods in which these mutations happen are called by Plato, with great propriety, periods of *fertility* and *sterility*: for in these periods a fertility or sterility of men, animals, and plants takes place; so that in fertile periods mankind will be both more numerous, and upon the whole superior in mental and bodily endowments to the men of a barren period. And a similar reasoning must be extended to animals and plants. This is signified by Plato, though obscurely, in the following passage from the eighth book of his Republic: χαλεπον μεν κινηθηναι πολιν ουτω ξυστασαν. αλλ' επει γενομενῳ παντι φθορα εστιν, ουδ' η τοιαυτη ξυστασις τον απαντα μενει χρονον, αλλα λυθησεται. λυσις δε ηδε. ου μονον φυτοις εγγειοις, αλλα και εν επιγειοις ζωοις φορα, και αφορια ψυχης τε, και σωματων γιγνεται, οταν περιτροπαι εκαστης κυκλων περιφορας συναπτωσι βραχυβιοις μεν βραχυπορους, εναντιοις δε εναντιας. *i. e.* "It is difficult for a city so constituted to be moved from its establishment. But since every thing which is generated is obnoxious to corruption, neither can a constitution of this kind remain perpetually, but must be dissolved. And its dissolution is this: *A fertility and sterility of soul and bodies not only takes place in terrene plants, but also in terrene animals, when the revolutions of each of these conjoin the ambits of their circles; which are shorter to the short-lived, and contrarywise to the contrary.*"

The so much celebrated heroic age, therefore, was the result

* For an account of the *wholes* which the universe contains, and which forms one of the most interesting parts of the Platonic philosophy, see my Introduction to the Timæus of Plato.

of one of these fertile periods, in which men, transcending the herd of mankind both in practical and intellectual virtue, abounded on the earth. But in consequence of that beautiful progression of things which takes place throughout the universe, viz. in consequence of multitude every where being suspended from a monad, or uniting cause; and multitude exquisitely allied to its monad preceding dissimilar multitude, it is necessary that each of these heroic souls should be the leader of other souls of an inferior rank, but yet resembling their leader in a high degree. Thus Achilles in the Iliad, who, as we have observed in a former note, is an heroic soul energizing according to practical virtue, stands at the head of a kindred multitude of souls, who, from their proximity to such characters as himself, are dignified with the appellation of heroes. Ajax belonged to this kindred multitude, together with Tydides, Ulysses, and many others; this multitude at the same time possessing gradations of excellence, in order that its extremity may coalesce with less elevated souls. It is therefore by no means wonderful, that Ajax possessed such remarkable strength and magnitude of body, as he belonged to that class of souls who approximate very near to real heroes among men.

But a very natural doubt may here arise in the mind of the thinking reader, why Æneas, who is said to have been born of a goddess, as well as Achilles, and of a goddess of a much higher rank than the mother of Achilles, is represented by Homer as engaged in a bad cause, which he evidently is, by fighting for the Trojans. I answer, that the doubt may be solved by reading Homer with that profound attention which his poems so justly demand. For we shall find, that though he calls Æneas a hero, as well as Achilles, from his resembling true heroes in many respects, yet he plainly evinces that his claim to this character was not incontrovertible, when he represents Apollo thus speaking to Æneas: (Iliad. 20. v. 105.)

——— και δε σε φασι Διος κουρης Αφροδιτης
Εκγεγαμεν·

i. e. "FOR THEY SAY that you are descended from Venus the

daughter of Jupiter." For here the term *they say* plainly indicates that his claim to this honour was ambiguous: but he never uses an expression of this kind when he speaks of Achilles. I add, that these periods of fertility and sterility depend on the different circulations of the heavens; and that this theory solves at once all that appears so absurd to persons ignorant of true philosophy in many of the relations of ancient historians: I mean, the accounts they give of animals which no where exist at present; and their ascribing properties to such animals as now exist, so different from what they are now found to possess. For it evidently follows, that in fertile periods animals must exist which are unknown to barren periods; and that all the tribes of animals must upon the whole be superior in every respect; just as in fertile ground, and in fertile seasons, the produce is more abundant, the species of production are more various, and their qualities superior to what are found in the produce of barren ground, in the barren seasons of the year.

But the following account of human bones of prodigious magnitude which have been discovered, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to the reader, in addition to the histories of this kind given by Pausanias. The author of this account is Phlegon Trallianus; and it is taken from his little treatise, *On admirable things; and on those that have lived to a great age.* "Not many years since, in Messene, Apollonius says, that a large stone vessel was broke through violent tempests, and a great inundation of water, and that a head was washed out of it, three times as large as that of a man, with two rows of teeth. An inscription informed those that were endeavouring to find whose head it was, that it was the head of Idas: for this was the inscription, ΙΔΕΩ, *i. e.* OF IDAS. The Messenians, therefore, at the public cost, provided another vessel, and placed in it the remains of the hero in such a manner, that they were more secure than before, as they perceived that this was the person of whom Homer* says:

* Iliad. 9. v. 554.

Idas the strongest of the mortal race
That flourish'd then, who for a beauteous nymph
Dared with Apollo Phœbus to contend,
And aim his arrows at the radiant king.

"In Dalmatia, too, in that which is called the cavern of Diana, many bodies may be seen, whose ribs exceed sixteen cubits.

"But the grammarian Apollonius relates that there was an earthquake during the reign of Tiberius Nero, through which many celebrated cities of Asia were entirely destroyed, but which Tiberius afterwards rebuilt at his own expense; for which benefit the Asiatics made a colossal statue of him, and placed it near the temple of Venus, which is in the forum of the Romans; and after this, they placed the statues of the several cities that had been rebuilt. Not a few, too, of the cities of Sicily suffered through this earthquake, and places near Rhegium, together with several of the cities in Pontus. But in those parts in which the earth was rent asunder, very large dead bodies were found; the magnitude of which, indeed, so astonished the inhabitants, that they were unwilling to move them. That the affair, however, might be generally known, they sent to Rome one of the teeth of these bodies; and this was more than a foot long. The ambassadors, at the same time they showed this to Tiberius, asked him whether he wished that the hero to whom this tooth belonged should be brought to him. Upon this Tiberius very prudently thought of a means by which he might neither be deprived of knowing the dimensions of this body, nor yet be guilty of the impiety of robbing the dead. He ordered a celebrated geometrician, whose name was Pulcrus, and whom he honoured for his art, to be called, and desired him to make a face in proportion to the size of that tooth. The geometrician, therefore, having calculated from the size of the tooth the dimensions of the face and of the whole body, accomplished the task imposed on him with great celerity, and brought the face to the Emperor, who, after he had satisfied himself with beholding it, ordered the tooth to be restored to the place from whence it was taken.

"Nor ought we to refuse to assent to this narration, since

there is a place in Egypt called Litræ, in which bodies are to be seen not less in size than the above-mentioned, and these not buried in the earth, but exposed to the view, neither confused nor disturbed, but placed in proper order, so that he who looks at them can tell which are the bones of the thighs, legs, and other members. It is not therefore by any means proper to disbelieve these accounts; but we ought to think that at first nature being very vigorous, caused every thing to approach near to the perfection of the gods*; and that becoming afterwards debilitated, the magnitude of bodies also decreased. I am likewise informed, that at Rhodes there are bones which far surpass in magnitude the bones of men of the present day. And the same Apollonius says, that there is a certain island near Athens, which the Athenians fortified with walls; and that when they were digging the foundations of these walls, they found a sepulchre of one hundred cubits in length, in which there was a skeleton of the same dimensions with the sepulchre, with this inscription: *I Macroseiris, who lived five thousand years, am buried in a long island.*

"Eumachus, in his description of the earth, says that the Carthaginians, when they were digging a trench in their own country, found two skeletons placed in coffins, one of which was twenty-three, and the other twenty-four cubits in length.

"And Theopompus Sinopensis, in his Treatise on Earthquakes, says, that a sudden earthquake happening in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, a certain hill was rent asunder, and bones of a prodigious magnitude were thrown out of it: for the length of the whole skeleton was found to be twenty-four cubits. He adds, that the Barbarians who dwelt about those parts threw these bones into the lake Mæotis."

Page 97. *The pancratium.*] This was a mode of wrestling and boxing, in which it was lawful to use any kind of play, in order to obtain the victory.

Page 101. *Peleus vowed his hair to the river Sperchius.*] The

* This opinion is very natural to a mind unacquainted with the various circulations of the heavens.

verses of Homer alluded to by Pausanias are these, which may be found in the 23rd book of the Iliad:

> Sperchius! whose waves in mazy errors lost
> Delightful roll along my native coast!
> To whom my father vow'd at my return,
> These locks to fall, and hecatombs to burn.

I only add, that the obscure and intricate mode of expression employed by Pausanias in the present passage, and which he so frequently adopts, led me into an error in the translation of it, from not recollecting at the time the verses of Homer alluded to. I beg the reader, therefore, to correct the passage as follows: "*That Peleus vowed the hair of Achilles to the river Sperchius, for his safe return from Troy.*"

Page 102. *Mild Jupiter.*] It appears that *Jupiter Milichius,* or *mild Jupiter,* is the same with that power called *the Dæmon,* in the Orphic hymns: for in the hymn to him he is expressly called μειλιχιον Δια, *mild Jupiter.* It appears, too, that this deity is the same with the Janus of the Romans. For in the hymn just cited there is the following line:

> Εν σοι γαρ λυπης τε χαρας κληιδες οχευνται.

i. e.

> "In thee, the keys of joy and sorrow are carried."

And Janus, it is well known, was represented as a porter. Scaliger, indeed, in the translation of this line, expressly assigns two epithets to this divinity, which belong only to Janus, *i. e. Patulcius* and *Clusius, the power that opens and shuts.*

> Lætitiæ, mærori, *Patulciu'*, *Clusius* idem es.

Indeed, that Jupiter is the same with Janus, is indisputably clear, from the following verse of a MS. hymn in my possession, of Proclus, which is entitled Υμνος κοινος, or *a common hymn:*

> Χαιρ' Ιανι πρωταιωρ Ζευ αφθιτε·——

i. e.

> "Grandfather Janus, Jove immortal, hail!"

And here it may not be improper to observe as a circumstance

truly admirable, that Orpheus, Homer, Plato, and the Chaldæan oracles, have unanimously characterized Jupiter by the dual. Thus both Orpheus and Plato call him by a twofold name Δια and Ζηνα; the former signifying that he is the cause *through which* things subsist; and the latter his vivific power; for he is the first cause of vivification. Plato, too, in the Parmenides, characterizes him by the dialectic epithets, *sameness* and *difference*. Homer places two urns by his throne. And he is called by the Chaldæan oracles δις εκεκεινα, *twice beyond*. The two faces of Janus, therefore, as he is the same with the Jupiter of the Greeks, admirably correspond with the dual characteristic assigned to that divinity by the most ancient theologists.

I add, that the reader must not be disturbed on finding that *Jupiter* is called a *dæmon*, as this epithet is only given to him in the way of *analogy*. For, as it is the employment of *essential* dæmons to attend on the gods, and proximately preside over inferior natures; so each subordinate order of gods, from following the operations of its proximate superior order, and presiding over subject natures, may be called analogically dæmoniacal with respect to that order. It is in this sense of the word that Plato, in the Timæus, calls the sublunary gods *dæmons* in one place, and in another *gods of gods*; and that in the Banquet, he calls *Love* a *mighty dæmon*, and in the Phædrus a *god*. But not only gods were called dæmons by ancient theologists, but intellects, souls, dæmons; and even men were called gods by them. Each, however, was thus denominated in a different respect. For *intellects* were called gods *according to union*; *souls, according to participation*; *dæmons, according to contact*; and *men, according to similitude*: while, in the mean time, such as are properly gods were assigned this appellation *essentially*. The observation of these distinctions will enable the philosophic reader to solve many apparent inconsistencies in the writings of ancient theologists, and convince him that the ancients believed in beings superior to the dæmoniacal order. By the power, therefore, called *the Dæmon*, which so often occurs in Pausanias, we must understand *Jupiter*.

Page 102. *But he that has been initiated in the Eleusinian*

mysteries, &c.] From the present passage, in conjunction with some other authorities which I shall adduce, we may collect no contemptible argument in favour of the opinion, that the Orphic hymns which exist at present were the very hymns which were used in the Eleusinian mysteries. "For (says Pausanias) it is not lawful to ascribe the invention of beans to Ceres; and he that has been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, or has read the poems called Orphic, will know what I mean." Now Porphyry de Abstinentia, lib. 4, informs us, that *beans* were forbidden in the Eleusinian mysteries*; and in the Orphic hymn to *Earth*, the sacrificer is ordered to fumigate from every kind of seed, except *beans* and aromatics. Again, Suidas informs us, that τελεῖη means *a mystic sacrifice, the greatest and most venerable of all others*, θυσια μυστηριωδης, η μεγιστη και τιμιωτερα. And Proclus, whenever he speaks of the Eleusinian mysteries, calls them *the most holy teletai*, αγιωταται τελεῖαι †. Agreeably to this, the Orphic hymns are called in the Thryllitian manuscript τελεῖαι: and Scaliger justly observes, that they contain nothing but such invocations as were used in *mysteries*. Besides, many of the hymns are expressly thus called by the author of them. Thus the conclusion of the hymn to Protogonus invokes that deity to be present at "*the holy telete*," εις τελεῖην αγιαν: of the hymn to the stars, to be present "*at the very learned labours of the illustriously-holy telete:*

Ελθετ' εω' ενιεῖου τελεῖης πολυϊστορας αθλους.

And in the conclusion of the hymn to Latona, the sacrifice is called an *all-divine telete*. Βαιν' εωι ταυθειον τελεῖην, as likewise in that of the hymn to Amphietus Bacchus. And in short, the greater part of the hymns will be found to have either the word *telete* in them; or to invoke the respective divinities to bless *the mystics*, or *initiated persons*. Thus the conclusion of the hymn

* Παραγγελλεῖται γαρ και Ελευσινι απεχεσθαι και παλαικιδιων οργιθων, και ιχθυων, και κυαμων, ροιας τε και μηλων. P. 263. Edit. Trajec.

† In Plat. Theol. p. 371, et in MS. Comment. in Alcibiad.

to Heaven entreats that divinity to confer a blessed life on *a recent mystic:*

Κλυθ' εναγων ζωην οσιαν μυστη νιοφαιδη—

the conclusion of the hymn to the Sun, "*to bestow a pleasant life on the mystics:*" and in a similar manner most of the rest.

Farther still, Demosthenes, in his first Oration against Aristogiton, has the following remarkable passage: και την αφαραιδηλον και σεμνην δικην, ην ο τας αγιωταλας ημιν τελεταλας καταδειξας Ορφευς παρα τον του Διος θρονον φησι καθημενην, παντα τα των ανθρωπων εφορᾳν: *i.e.* "Let us reverence inexorable and venerable Justice, who Orpheus, our instructor in *the most holy teletai*, says is seated by the throne of Jupiter, and inspects all the affairs of men." Here Demosthenes you see calls the mysteries *most holy*, as well as Proclus; and I think we may conclude with the greatest confidence from all that has been said, that he alluded to the hymn to Justice, which is among the Orphic hymns, and to these very lines:

Ομμα Δικης μετεπω παλιδερκεος, αγλαομορφου
Η και ζηνος ανακτος επι θρονον ιερον ιζει,
Ουρανοθεν καθορωσα βιον θνητων πολυφυλων.

i. e. "I sing the all-seeing eye of splendid Justice, who sits by the throne of king Jupiter, and from her celestial abode beholds the life of mortal men."

Page 104. *Homer calls these daughters, &c.*] Pausanias doubtless alludes to Homer's hymn to Ceres: but these names are not to be found in the hymn at present, owing to an unfortunate chasm in a part of the hymn where they were mentioned.

Page 106. *The poet Pamphus.*] Pamphus was an Athenian contemporary with Linus, and is said to have composed poems and hymns prior to Homer.

Page 110. *The twelve gods, as they are called.*] These twelve divinities are Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Vesta, Minerva, Mars, Ceres, Juno, Diana, Mercury, Venus, Apollo. The first triad of these gods is *demiurgic;* the second, *defensive;* the third, *vivific;* and the fourth, *elevating* and *harmonic.* These divinities,

according to their first subsistence, considered as characterized by the number twelve, form that order of gods which is called απολυτος, or *liberated*, by the Chaldæan theologists, but υπερουρανιος, *supercelestial*, by the Greeks, because it is immediately situated above the mundane gods. But these gods are received from the liberated order into the world. Hence, as Sallust observes in his elegant little work, On the Gods and the World *; "Of these gods, some are the causes of the world's existence; others animate the world; others again harmonize it, thus composed from different natures; and others lastly guard and preserve it when harmonically arranged." He adds, "The truth of this may be seen in statues as in ænigmas. For Apollo harmonizes the lyre, Pallas is invested with arms, and Venus is naked; since harmony generates beauty, and beauty is not concealed in objects of sensible inspection. But since these gods primarily possess the world, it is necessary to consider the other gods as subsisting in these; as Bacchus in Jupiter, Æsculapius in Apollo, and the Graces in Venus. We may likewise behold the orbs with which they are connected; viz. Vesta with earth, Neptune with water, Juno with air, and Vulcan with fire. But the six superior gods we denominate from general custom; for we assume Apollo and Diana for the sun and moon; but we attribute the orb of Saturn to Ceres, æther to Pallas; and we assert that heaven is common to them all."

Page 111. *Bacchus Nyctelius.*] So called, because his mysteries were celebrated by night.

Page 111. *Venus Verticordia.*] Thus denominated, according to Gyraldus, because she *turns the heart* to chastity. Vid. Valer. Maxim. lib. viii.

Page 111. *The Oracle of Night.*] The following mystic particulars respecting the Oracle of Night are given us by Proclus, in Tim. p. 63, and p. 96. "The artificer of the universe, prior to his whole fabrication, is said to have betaken himself to the Oracle of Night, to have been there filled with divine conceptions, to have received the principles of fabrication, and (if

* Cap. vi.

it be lawful so to speak) to have solved all his doubts. Night, too, calls upon the father Jupiter to undertake the fabrication of the universe; and Jupiter is said by the theologist (Orpheus) to have thus addressed Night:

Μαια θεων υπαλη, Νυξ αμβροτε, πως τα δε φρασεις;
Πως δει μ' αθανατων αρχην κραδιεφρονα θεσθαι;
Πως δε μοι εν τι τα παντ' εσται, και χωρις εκαστον:

i. e.

O Nurse, supreme of all the powers divine,
Immortal Night! how with unconquer'd mind
Must I the source of the immortals fix?
And how will all things but as one subsist,
Yet each its nature separate preserve?

To which interrogations the goddess thus replies:

Αιθερι παντα περιξ αφαλω λαβε· τω δ' ενι μεσσω
Ουρανον, εν δε τε γαιαν απειριτον, εν δε θαλασσαν,
Εν δε τε τειρεα παντα, τα' ϑ' υρανος εξεφαωλο.

i. e.

All things receive inclosed on every side,
In æther's wide, ineffable embrace:
Then, in the midst of æther place the heaven,
In which let earth of infinite extent,
The sea, and stars, the crown of heaven, be fix'd.

"And Jupiter is instructed by Night in all the subsequent mundane fabrication: but after she has laid down rules respecting all other productions, she adds:

Αυταρ επην δεσμον πρατερον εισι πασι τανυσης,
Σειρην χρυσειην εξ αιθερος αρτησαντα·

i. e.

But when your power around the whole has spread
A strong coercive bond, a golden chain
Suspend from æther."

Thus far Proclus. But the first subsistence of the goddess Night is at the summit of that divine order, which is called by the Chaldæan theologists νοητος και νοερος, *intelligible and at the*

same time intellectual. She is besides the mother of the gods, who are nourished with intelligible food from the contemplation of her divinity: and on this account she is called the nurse of the gods. Proclus, therefore, in the above passages, speaks of Night according to this her first subsistence: but in the passage before us of Pausanias, we must consider this goddess according to her mundane subsistence. I only add, that the Chaldæan doctrine of other purer worlds above the inerratic sphere seems, from the Orphic verses just cited, to have been known to and embraced by Orpheus. For the Chaldæan theologists, as I have proved in my Notes on the Cratylus of Plato, believed, that there were seven corporeal worlds: one empyrean, three ethereal, and three material; which last three consist of the inerratic sphere, the planetary spheres, and the sublunary region. And in one of the above cited Orphic verses, Jupiter is ordered to receive all things inclosed in æther; plainly indicating that there is something ethereal beyond the sensible heavens.

Page 114. *Gods that are called Prodromean.*] i. e. *Antecessors:* for, as among the genera superior to mankind, some are the antecessors of the gods, in like manner certain subordinate orders of gods may be called the forerunners of superior orders, considered as preparing, by their light, natures inferior to the divine for the reception of illumination from a prior order of gods. Alcathous, therefore, very properly sacrificed to these gods before he began to raise the wall of the tower.

Page 114. *Upon which they say Apollo laid his harp.*] As the characteristics of all the divine orders are participated by the last of things, hence a vestige of supernal light is not only visible in plants, but in particular stones. Thus, as Proclus observes in his small treatise De Magia, "The sun-stone by its golden rays imitates those of the sun; but the stone called the eye of heaven, or of the sun, has a figure similar to the pupil of an eye, and a ray shines from the middle of the pupil. Thus, too, the lunar stone, which has a figure similar to the moon when horned, by a certain change of itself, follows the lunar motion. And the stone called *Helioselenus*, i. e. *of the sun and moon*, imitates, after a manner, the congress of those luminaries,

which it images by its colour." This being the case, it is by no means wonderful, that there should be certain stones which possess a debile vestige of the divine harmony of Apollo; and the stone mentioned by Pausanias, from its being one of this kind, may have occasioned the fabulous report, that Apollo laid his harp on it.

Page 116. *An heroic monument of Ino.*] By Ino, the ancients signified symbolically the sublunary element water, as the following passage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo evinces: ο Καδμος μεν ο υποσελήνος κοσμος ως Διονυσιακος, διο και αρμονια συνεζι τω θεω, και των τεταρων Βακχων παληρ. τεσσαρα δε στοιχεια Διονυσιακα ποιουσι, Σεμελη μεν το πυρ, Αγαυη δε την γην, διασπωσα τα οικεια γεννηματα, Ινω δε τρ. υδωρ, εναλιος ουσα, και Αυτονοη δε τον αερα, ἡ λοιπη: *i. e.* "Cadmus is the sublunary world, as being Dionysiacal, on which account Harmony is united to the god, and as being the father of the four Bacchuses. But they make the four elements to be Dionysiacal; viz. *fire* to be *Semele; earth, Agave,* tearing in pieces her own offspring; *water, Ino;* and lastly, *air, Autonoe.*"

Page 117. *Hesiod in his catalogue of women, &c.*] The meaning of Hesiod, in the passage alluded to by Pausanias in his *Catalogue of Women* (which work is unfortunately lost), is this, as it appears to me: Iphigenia after her death became united with Hecate, from whom she originally descended; and on this account might be said to be changed into Hecate, on account of wholly subsisting through union, according to the characteristic of that goddess. I only add that, according to Orpheus, as we are informed by Proclus on the Cratylus, there is a great union between Diana, the mundane Hecate, and Proserpine; and that Orpheus calls Diana Hecate.

Page 117. *Herodotus writes.*] In Melpom. p. 133. edit. Basil.

Page 118. *Hecaerge and Opis.*] These are two names of Diana, the former alluding to the emission of the moon's rays, and signifying *far-darting;* and the latter alluding to the beauty of Diana's countenance: for *Opis,* according to Callimachus, in his hymn to this goddess, signifies *a beautiful countenance:*

Ουτω αγασσ' ιυωπι, φαισφερι.

Page 119. *Imeros and Apothos.*] According to Plato, in the Cratylus, the former of these words signifies *amatorial desire of a present object*, and the latter, *desire of an absent object.*

Page 121. *Apollo Tutelaris.*] *i. e.* Apollo, *the guardian of the city:* for every city, as is well known, according to the ancient theology, has its guardian deity. But we learn from Olympiodorus in Comment. MS. in Platonis Alcibiadem, that of the mundane gods from which bodies alone are suspended, some are *celestial* ουρανιοι, others *ethereal* or *fiery* αιθεριοι, sive πυριοι, others *aerial* αεριοι, others *aquatic* ενυδροι, others *terrestrial* χθονιοι, and others *subtartarean* υποταρταριοι. But that among the *terrestrial* some *preside over climates*, or are *climatarchic* κλιματαρχαι, others are *guardians of cities* πολιουχοι, and others lastly are *the guardians of houses* καλοικιδιοι. Let the reader, too, carefully remember, that these allotments of the divinities are immutable; viz. that though parts of the earth may become at times unfit to receive divine influence, through subsisting contrary to nature, as I have observed in a former note, yet the beneficent illuminations of the gods continue invariably the same.

Page 121. *And Latona.*] The following admirable account of Latona, from the MSS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, cannot fail of being highly acceptable to the Platonic reader. "Latona is a vivific fountain comprehended in Ceres: *and hence, according to the Grecian rites, she is worshipped as the same with Ceres*, these rites evincing by this the union of the goddesses. But this goddess emits the whole of vivific light, illuminating the intellectual essences of the gods, and the orders of souls: and lastly, she illuminates the whole sensible heaven, generating mundane light, and establishing the cause of this light in her offspring, Apollo and Diana; and causes all things to glitter with intellectual and vivific light. She imparts likewise to souls the consummation of virtue, and an illumination which leads them back to the intellectual port of their father*, hastily withdrawing them from the winding paths of matter †, the entanglements of vice, and the roughness of the passage over the sea of

* *i. e.* Jupiter.

† Of these winding paths the Dedalean labyrinth is an image.

generation. It appears to me, indeed, that theologists considering this, denominated her Αγλω Latona, on account of her extending to souls *smoothness* of manners, a voluntary life, and divine gentleness and ease. For to such as raise themselves to her divinity, she imparts an ineffable energy, a blameless life, gentleness of manners, serenity, and intellectual tranquillity. Whether, therefore, she is called Leto, from a voluntary life, for λω signifies το βουλομαι *I am willing*; or from το λειον *the smooth*, her name will perfectly evince through both these, the powers which she possesses. For the compelled energies of the soul take place through material roughness, and the obliquity of a life in generation diminishes the soul's voluntary life. But an ascent to the gods imparts a smooth and gentle instead of a hard and rough, and a voluntary instead of a compelled life.

"Why then is it necessary to call, as some do, Latona matter, as capable of being easily turned, and subsisting as an express resemblance of all forms, like a mirror receiving the representations of all things; and to say that she is the cause of oblivion to those that look into her? Why is it necessary to call Apollo harmony, as subsisting from Latona and Jupiter? For thus the god would be inseparable from matter, and not the cause of the harmony in the universe. It is better, therefore, to say, that Latona is not the receptacle of Apollo, but that she is the mother and fountain of all vivific light, which preserves all things by heat: but that Apollo, who is a separate divinity, is the supplier of all harmonic life, and of all those mundane reasons by which the universe is indissolubly bound. But you may say that Socrates derives her name from *Lethe*, because she peculiarly causes in souls an oblivion of evils, and of the roughness and storms in generation; of which, while the soul retains the memory, she cannot possibly establish herself in intelligibles: for memory, says Plotinus, leads to the object of memory. And as Mnemosyne excites the memory of intelligibles, so Latona imparts an oblivion of material concerns."

Page 121. *Diana the Saviour.*] The epithet of *the Saviour*, as may be inferred from Proclus on the Cratylus, was given by

the ancients to all the celestial gods in common. For, speaking of the Christians of his time, he observes: "Men of the present day do not believe that the sun and moon are divinities, nor do they worship the other celestial natures, who are our *Saviours* and governors, leading back immortal souls, and being those that fabricate and give subsistence to mortal souls*. I should however say, that men of this kind, who dare to entertain such an irrational opinion respecting the celestial gods, are hastening to Tartarus, and to the most ineffable and inordinate part of the universe."

Page 127. *Neptune contended with the Sun.*] There are two ways of considering the battles of the gods, which are so much celebrated in fable; and each of these solves all the apparent absurdity in which such fables are involved. The first of these is from considering the orderly *distinction* in the progression of all the divine genera from their ineffable source. I mean that some are the causes of *union*, and others of *separation* to things posterior; that some impart *a generating power*, and others *an undefiled purity* to subordinate natures; and that some impart a good, separate from the nature of its recipient, but others such a good as is consubsistent with its receptacle. Now this distinction, and seeming opposition, in divine natures, was called by ancient mythologists contention and war. I say seeming opposition: for all divine natures subsist in the most perfect friendship and profound union with each other; and at the same time that the essence and energy of each are perfectly distinct, they are either all in all, which is the case with the divine unities, or all in each, which is the case with forms or ideas.

But the second mode of considering the battles of the gods is, by regarding their progressions into the universe; in consequence of which the last orders dependent on the gods, as they are produced by a long interval from the first causes, are contiguous to the subjects of their government, and adhere to matter, contract contrariety and all-various division, and, by their proximate care of mortal concerns, are obnoxious to desires and

* i. e. to the souls of brutes.

passions. Lastly, on account of their great sympathy with mortal concerns, and the partial providence which they exert for their welfare, they actually war with each other. But as even the last orders which perpetually follow the gods preserve the properties of their leaders, though in a partial and manifold manner, hence they were very properly called, by the ancients, by the names of the gods their respective leaders. Thus for instance, not only the deity who illuminates all things with supermundane light, and who sits with Jupiter and the celestial gods, was called Apollo, but this name was given to the dæmon who was the guardian of Hector. This last mode, indeed, of considering battles among the gods, is the key, in the hands of the skilful, to the secret meaning of much of the mythology in the Iliad, and shows us how the relation here given by Pausanias is to be understood. For it means, that certain dæmoniacal powers, who rank among the last attendants of the gods Neptune and the Sun, once contended with each other about the land of Corinth; and that Briareus, a dæmon belonging to the deity of that name, acted as a mediator between them. I only add farther, that these dæmons, who are thus proximate to the subjects of their government, and who are influenced by passions like men, are not *essentially* dæmons, though they are the perpetual attendants of the gods; but they are dæmons only κατα σχεσιν, *according to habitude, proximity,* and *alliance.* For between *essential* dæmons, who are the *constant* attendants of the gods, and men who are only *sometimes* dæmons *according to habitude,* and *sometimes* attendants of the gods, it is necessary there should be an order of beings, who are *always* dæmons according to habitude, and *always* the attendants of the gods.

Page 131. *But there are three statues of Jupiter, &c.*] It appears to me highly probable, that the three Jupiters, mentioned in this place by Pausanias, are those three brother deities, the offspring of Saturn, between whom, according to Homer, the universe is divided; or, in other words, that they are *Jupiter, Neptune,* and *Pluto.* For the second of these statues, says Pausanias, is called *terrestrial* Jupiter, which is an epithet of Pluto, as is evident from the Orphic hymn to that deity; and

from Homer, as cited by Pausanias, p. 204; and Neptune, in the Orphic hymn to Equity, is called marine Jupiter, πονλιος εινναλεος Ζευς. But that the reader may see the processions and offices of these three demiurgic gods, who are supermundane deities according to their first subsistence, I shall present him with the following translation from Proclus in Theol. Plat. p. 367.

"There *ruling* gods replenish the apparent order of things in conjunction with the mundane gods; and distribute whole parts under the moon, in a manner different from their government in the heavens; but they every where energize according to a paternal and demiurgic mode, unfolding the one fabrication of the universe, and accommodating it to parts. But their allotment and distribution are first according to the whole universe: and one of these (Jupiter) produces the essences of things; but the second (Neptune) lives and generations; and the third (Pluto) administers the divisions of forms. And one of these establishes in the one demiurgus of the world every thing proceeding from thence: but the other evocates all things into progression: and the third converts all things to himself. But their second distribution is into the parts of the universe. For the first of these gods governs the inerratic sphere, and its revolution. But the second presides over the planetary spheres, and perfects their multiform, efficacious, and prolific motions. And the last of these gods governs the sublunary region, and perfects intellectually the terrestrial world. But in the third place, we may contemplate these three demiurgic progressions in that which is generated. Jupiter therefore governs the summit of generated natures, and the sphere of fire and air: but Neptune excites with an all-various motion the extremely-mutable elements, and is the inspector and guardian of every humid essence subsisting in air and water: and Pluto administers by his providence the earth, and all which it contains; and on this account he is called *Terrestrial Jupiter*.

"In the fourth place, with respect to the whole of generation, Jupiter is allotted the most exalted places, in which, as Socrates observes in the Phædo, the regions destined to blessed souls are

contained; because they live separate from generation, under the government of Jove: but Neptune governs hollow places and caverns, in which generation, motion, and concussions subsist; on which account he is called *the earth-shaking god:* and Pluto governs places under the earth, the various streams of water, Tartarus, and the places in which souls are judged. Hence the souls which have not yet proceeded into generation, but abide in the intelligible place, are said to be of the order of Jupiter: but such as live in generation are said to be placed under Neptune. And those which after generation are purified and punished, and either wander under the earth for a thousand years, or again return to their principle, are said to live under Pluto. In the fifth place, the distributions of these gods are divided according to the centres of the universe. For Jupiter possesses the oriental centre, as being allotted an order correspondent to that of fire: but Neptune obtains the middle centre, which corresponds to a vivific nature, and through which generation enjoys celestial natures: and Pluto obtains the western centre; since the west is allied to earth, because it is nocturnal, and the cause of obscurity and darkness. For shade proceeds from the earth, and earth is the privation of light from west to east. Lastly, *according to every division of the universe, such natures as are first, and obtain the principality, belong to Jove; such as are middle correspond to the kingdom of Neptune; and such as are last belong to the empire of Pluto.*"

Page 132. *Mercury in a sitting posture, and by the side of him a ram.*] The reason why Mercury was represented by the ancients with a ram, depends on the intimate alliance of this god with Minerva, who, as we are informed by Proclus on the Timæus, presides over that celestial constellation called the *ram,* and from thence imparts a motive power which governs the universe. But the agreement of Minerva with Mercury will be obvious from considering that this goddess, as we have before observed, extends the whole of *intellectual light,* and that Mercury is the source of the *reasoning power.* Hence the ancients used to render the statues of both these divinities one, by joining them together: and a statue of this kind they called ερμαθηνη,

Hermathena, or *Mercury-Minerva*. These Hermathenæ are mentioned by Cicero in his books De Inventione. I only add, that the verses of Homer cited by Pausanias may be found Iliad 14. v. 490.

Page 134. *Minerva Chalinitis.*] i. e. *the Bridler.*

Page 136. *Isis.*] Isis is the same with Minerva, according to the Ægyptians, as we are informed by Plutarch, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris. Proclus, too, in Tim. p. 30, says that according to the Ægyptian historians, there was the following inscription on the statue of Minerva, in the adytum of the temple: εγω σιμι παν το γεγονος, και ον, και εσομενον· και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν· ον εγω καρπον ετεκον, ηλιος εγενετο. *i. e.* "I AM EVERY THING THAT HAS BEEN, THAT IS, AND THAT SHALL BE; AND NO MORTAL HAS EVER YET BEEN ABLE TO WITHDRAW MY VEIL. THE FRUIT WHICH I HAVE BROUGHT FORTH IS THE SUN." It is remarkable that this inscription, as far as to the first period, is cited by Plutarch in his above-mentioned treatise; but I know of no author except Proclus who has cited the latter part, "*the fruit which I have brought forth, is the sun*;" nor has this important addition been noticed by any modern writer that I am acquainted with, owing doubtless to the want of a *copious* index to these invaluable commentaries of Proclus.

As Isis therefore is Minerva, and as the veil of this goddess, as I have observed in a former note, is an emblem of *Nature*, which proceeds from those intellectual vital powers contained in the essence of Minerva, we may perceive the reason why the Arriians, Æthiopians, and Ægyptians called *Nature* (as we are informed by Apuleius) *Isis*. Likewise since the moon, as we learn from Proclus, is the αυτοπλον αγαλμα της φυσεως, *the self-visive image of Nature*, we may see why *Nature* was called by the Cretans, according to Apuleius in the same place, *Diana*. And in short, as Minerva was justly called by the ancients κορυφη των θεων, *the summit of the gods*, and is therefore their source in conjunction with her father Jupiter, we may at one view see the propriety of her being called by the names of so many other goddesses, in the following sublime passage from

the Metamorphoses of Apuleius: for, as every cause is that primarily which its effect is secondarily, Minerva is in a certain respect the same with all the divinities that proceed from her, when they are considered according to their causal subsistence in her essence.

The divinity of the moon, then, thus addresses the metamorphosed Apuleius: En adsum tuis commota, Lucî, precibus, rerum Natura parens, elementorum omnium domina, seculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina Manium, prima cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis: quæ cœli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso: cujus numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant Deûm matrem. Hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam Minervam; illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem: Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam; Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam; Eleusinii vetustam Deam Cererem: Junonem alii, alii Bellonam, alii Hecaten, Rhamnusiam alii. Et qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus radiis illustrantur, Æthiopes, Arriique, priscaque doctrina pollentes Ægyptii cæremoniis me prorsus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem. That is, "Behold, Lucius, moved with thy supplications I am present; I, who am *Nature*, the parent of things, queen of all the elements, initial progenitor of ages, the highest of divinities, queen of departed spirits, the first of the celestials, and the uniform appearance of gods and goddesses: who rule by my nod the luminous height of the heavens, the salubrious breezes of the sea, and the deplorable silences of the infernal regions; and whose divinity, in itself but one, is venerated by all the earth, according to a multiform shape, various rites, and different appellations. Hence, the primitive Phrygians call me Pessinuntica, the mother of the gods; the native Athenians, Cecropian Minerva; the floating Cyprians, Paphian Venus; the arrow-bearing Cretans, Dictynnian Diana; the three-tongued Sicilians, Stygian Proserpine; and the inhabitants of Eleusis, the ancient goddess Ceres. Some again have invoked me as Juno, others as Bellona, others

as Hecate, and others as Rhamnusia: and those who are enlightened by the emerging rays of the rising sun, the Æthiopians, Arriians, and Ægyptians, powerful in ancient learning, who reverence my divinity with ceremonies perfectly proper, call me by a true appellation queen Isis."

Page 137. *Serapis.*] This divinity, as we learn from Plutarch in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, and Porphyry on Oracles as cited by Eusebius, is the same with the Pluto of the Greeks.

Page 137. *Ægina the daughter of Asopus was ravished by Jupiter.*] What are we to understand by this relation? That this was once actually the case? But to suppose this would be absurd in the extreme. As all such relations, therefore, are very far from being literally true, we should consider them as fables in which some mysterious meaning is involved;—a meaning which from its sublime nature ought to be concealed from the vulgar, as their eyes are too weak to sustain the splendours of the highest truths. By ravishment and adultery, then, between divine and human natures, ancient theologists meant to insinuate that communication of energy between the two which we have taken notice of in a former note, in which we showed how heroes may be said to be the sons of gods and goddesses. But as this communication of energy takes place through angels, dæmons, and *essential* heroes as mediums, hence the Jupiter mentioned in this fable must be considered as a dæmoniacal power of the series of Jupiter, who by giving perfection to the natural life of Ægina, and removing every thing which would be an impediment to the fœtus in her womb, was said to have ravished her.

Page 137. *Sisyphus.*] The following beautiful passage from the MSS. Scholia of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato fully unfolds the meaning of the fable respecting the punishment of Sisyphus. For the original of this passage I refer the reader to my Dissertation on the Mysteries, p. 45. "Ulysses," says he, "descending into Hades, saw among others *Sisyphus*, and Tityus, and Tantalus; and Tityus he saw lying on the earth, and a vulture devouring his liver; the liver signifying that he lived solely according to the desiderative part of his nature, and through this was indeed internally prudent; but earth signifying

the terrestrial condition of his prudence. But Sisyphus, living under the dominion of ambition and anger, was employed in continually rolling a stone up an eminence, because it perpetually descended again; its descent implying the vicious government of himself; and his rolling the stone, the hard, refractory, and as it were rebounding condition of his life. And lastly he saw Tantalus extended by the side of a lake, and that there was a tree before him, with abundance of fruit on its branches, which he desired to gather, but it vanished from his view; and this indeed indicates that he lived under the dominion of the phantasy: but his hanging over the lake, and in vain attempting to drink, implies the elusive, humid, and rapidly-gliding condition of such a life."

Page 141. *Homer, however, refers them to a more illustrious origin.*] For according to Homer, Zethus and Amphion were the offspring of Jupiter, as is evident from the following lines from the Odyssey, book xi. v. 261.

> "There moved Antiope with haughty charms,
> Who bless'd th' almighty Thund'rer in her arms:
> Hence sprung Amphion, hence brave Zethus came,
> Founders of Thebes and men of mighty name."
>
> POPE.

Page 142. *Homer says.*] Iliad 2. v. 117. The translator of these verses is Mr. Pope.

Page 143. *Quinquertium.*] The five principal exercises in the Olympic games, viz. hurling the quoit, running, leaping, hurling the dart, and wrestling. The Romans added to these swimming and riding.

Page 145. *After Apollo and Diana had slain the serpent Python.*] Olympiodorus in Comment. MS. in Phædonem observes concerning *Python*, *Æchidna*, and *Typhon*, as follows: ὁ μεν Τυφων της παντοιας των ὑπογειων πνευματων, και ὑδατων, και των αλλων στοιχειων ζιαιου κινησεως αιτιος. ἡ δε Αιχιδνα τιμωριας αιτια και κολαστικη λογικων τε και αλογων ψυχων· διο τα μεν ανω παρθενος, τα δε κατω εστιν οφιωδης. ὁ δε Πυθων φρουρος της μαντικης ὁλης αναδοσεως. αμεινον δε της περι ταυτα αταξιας τε και αντιφραξεως αιτιον λεγειν. That is, "*Typhon* is the cause of the

violent motion of all-various subterranean vapours and waters, and the other elements. But *Æchidna* is an avenging cause, and the punisher of rational and irrational souls; on which account her upper parts are those of a virgin, and her lower parts resemble those of a serpent." And Python is the guardian of the whole of prophetic exhalation; or, we may say with greater propriety, that he is the cause of the disorder and obstruction about exhalations of this kind." As the prophetic power therefore proceeds originally from Apollo, the opposition of energy between Apollo and Python, and the dominion of that of the former over that of the latter, gave rise to the fable mentioned in this place by Pausanias. Diana, too, may be said to have assisted Apollo in slaying Python, in consequence of the wonderful union between these two divinities.

Page 150. *For Hesiod says.*] In his Works and Days, lib. *i.* v. 263.

Page 151. *Mercury Forensis.*] Mercury was thus denominated as presiding over affairs of *law:* and the propriety of this appellation will be evident from considering that Mercury is the source of *gymnastic, music,* and *reasoning;* that *reasoning* is an *intellectual* operation; and that *law,* as Plato (De Legibus) beautifully observes, is νου διανομη, *the distribution of intellect.* For the sake of the liberal reader, I shall further observe concerning Mercury, that he is *the source of invention:* and hence he is said to be the son of *Maia;* because *search,* which is implied by Maia, leads *invention* into light. He bestows, too, *mathesis* on souls, by unfolding the will of his father Jupiter; and this he accomplishes as the angel or messenger of Jupiter. Proclus in MS. Comment. in Alcibiad. observes, "that he is the inspective guardian of *gymnastic exercises;* and hence *hermæ,* or carved statues of Mercury, were placed in the Palæstræ: of *music,* and hence he is honoured as *the lyrist* λυραιος among the celestial constellations: and of *disciplines,* because the invention of geometry, reasoning, and discourse is referred to this god. He presides, therefore, over every species of erudition, leading us to an intelligible essence from this mortal abode, governing the different herds of souls, and dispersing the sleep and oblivion

with which they are oppressed. He is likewise the supplier of recollection, the end of which is a genuine intellectual apprehension of divine natures."

After this he observes that the different ages of our life on the earth correspond to the order of the universe: "For our first age (says he) partakes in an eminent degree of the lunar operations; as we then live according to a nutritive and natural power. But our second age participates of Mercurial prerogatives; because we then apply ourselves to letters, music, and wrestling. The third age is governed by Venus; because then we begin to produce seed, and the generative powers of nature are put in motion. The fourth age is solar; for then our youth is in its vigour and full perfection, subsisting as a medium between generation and decay; for such is the order which vigour is allotted. But the fifth age is governed by Mars; in which we principally aspire after power and superiority over others. The sixth age is governed by Jupiter; for in this we give ourselves up to prudence, and pursue an active and political life. And the seventh age is Saturnian, in which it is natural to separate ourselves from generation, and transfer ourselves to an incorporeal life. And thus much we have discussed, in order to procure belief that letters, and the whole education of youth, is suspended from the Mercurial series." I only add, that as the first gifts of this god are intellectual, so his last pertain to the acquisition of gain. Hence he was called the god of *merchandize* and *theft*: for *craft*, as Plotinus beautifully observes, is a defluxion of intellect; and from these two professions craft is inseparable.

Page 151. *To Hercules as to a hero.*] The grand source, as it appears to me, of all that dire confusion which has taken place in opinions respecting the gods, is the belief that they were nothing more than men who once lived on the earth, and after their death were deified for their exalted worth. This opinion, too, originated from a misconception of divine fables, and ignorance of the manner in which every divine order proceeds to the extremity of things. For every god, as I have before observed, confers the characteristic of his nature on all his parti-

cipants; and those heroic souls that have at times appeared on the earth, and of whom we have given an account in a former note, conscious that they possessed the properties of those gods from whom they descended, called themselves by the names of their parent divinities. Thus heroic souls who descended from Jupiter, called themselves by the name of that god. Thus a hero Æsculapius has lived among men, who descended from the god of that name. This, too, has been the case with an heroic Bacchus, Mercury, Apollo, and in short with heroes of the same names with all the other gods. Hence we must consider Hercules as a hero who descended from the deity of that name, who in his highest subsistence, according to the Orphic theology, is the same with the celebrated Phanes or Protogonus, the exemplar of the universe. As heroic souls, therefore, of this kind were, as we have before observed, called by the ancients gods *according to similitude*, or in other words, from their approaching to the perfection of a divine nature as much as is possible to man, and particularly when liberated from the present body; hence it is easy to see how Hercules may be a god, and yet a man; how the hero Hercules may be said to have been deified after his death, without confounding the divine with the human nature; and in short, how ignorance of this *most important* particular has given birth to the *delirious* systems of modern writers on mythology.

Page 153. *And on her head she bears the pole.*] As the word πολος, *the pole*, was used by the ancients to signify *the heavens*, it seems to me evident that this statue represented *Celestial Venus*.

Page 153. *Similar to the square figures of Mercury.*] Proclus on Euclid* informs us that the Pythagoreans signified by a square a pure and immaculate order. And shortly after he adds, "that the gods who are the authors to all things of stable disposition, of pure and uncontaminated order, and of uninclining power, are very properly manifested as from an image by a quadrangular figure." As it is the province, therefore, of Mercury to unfold and fill all things with truth, and *truth* is the

* Lib. ii. in Def. 33 et 34.

same with *pure simplicity*; and as *stability of essence* is derived from *truth*, we may easily perceive the propriety of consecrating a square figure to Mercury. As Hercules, too, according to his mundane distribution as a god, seems to be the same with the Sun, according to the Orphic theology, and Mercury, Venus, and Apollo are deities of the same order, and profoundly united to each other, we cannot wonder that the statues of Hercules should resemble those of Mercury.

Page 154. *Averrunci.*] These gods were worshipped as *the averters of evil*, as their name implies.

Page 154. *Ceres Prostasia.*] That is, Ceres *to whom empire belongs.*

Page 156. *Sacred dragons.*] A *dragon*, as we have before observed, is a symbol of the partial life of the soul; and *health is symmetry, and a subsistence according to nature.* But the soul, while she is separated from the divinities, or, in other words, leads a partial life, lives in a manner contrary to her nature, and is diseased. She requires, therefore, the assistance of Æsculapius, or the god of health, that she may be restored to her true life. And hence the propriety of consecrating dragons to Æsculapius. But a dragon may be considered as the symbol of partial life of every kind, and consequently of that mortal life which is participated by the body, and which on the dissolution of the corporeal frame returns to the *whole* from whence it was derived. This life, therefore, from its partial nature, requires the assistance of Æsculapius, and this from its intimate connexion with body in a most eminent degree; so that by consecrating a dragon to Æsculapius, the ancients implied that this divinity is the physician both of souls and bodies.

Page 158. *The Rhodian poet.*] *i. e.* Apollonius in his Argonautics, lib. i.

Page 159. *Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus.*] Jamblichus in his life of Pathagoras informs us, that *Mnesarchus* and Pythais, who were the parents of Pythagoras, descended from the house of Ancæus.

Page 160. *Hebe.*] This goddess is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, lib. iv. v. 2; and in the Odyssey, lib. xi. v. 602.

Page 161. *The apples of the Hesperides.*] The following beautiful passage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato, will inform the reader what he is to understand by the Hesperian regions. δει δε ειδεναι οτι αι νησοι υπερκυπτουσι της θαλασσης ανωτερω ουσαι. την ουν πολιτειαν την υπερκυψασαν του βιου και της γενεσεως, μακαρων νησους καλουσι. ταυτον δε εστι και το ηλυσιον πεδιον. δια τοι τουτο και ὁ Ηρακλης τελευταιον αθλον εν τοις εσπεριοις μερεσιν εποιησατο, αντι καταγωνισατο τον σκοτεινον και χθονιον βιον, και λοιπον εν ημερᾳ, ὁ εστιν εν αληθειᾳ και φωτι εζη. That is, "It is necessary to know, that islands stand out of, as being higher than the sea. A condition of being, therefore, which transcends this corporeal life and generation, is denominated the islands of the blessed; but these are the same with the Elysian fields. Hence, Hercules is said to have accomplished his last labour in the Hesperian regions; signifying by this, that having vanquished an obscure and terrestrial life, he afterwards lived in open day, that is, in truth and resplendent light." I only add, that the Hesperian golden apples which were plucked by Hercules, signify his reaping undefiled advantages, through arcane and telestic labours; for gold, from its incorruptible nature, is a symbol of purity.

Page 163. *His verses.*] The translator of the verses here cited from Homer's hymn to Ceres, is Mr. Lucas.

Page 166. *Danaus.*] Danaus married his fifty daughters to his brother's fifty sons, and caused all of them, except Hypermnestra, to slay their husbands the first night.

Page 167. *Homer.*] This verse of Homer is in the Odyssey, lib. ii. v. 120.

Page 169. *In one of her hands she holds a pomegranate.*] Juno is a vivific goddess, and is the inspective guardian of motion and progression: and on this account (says Olympiodorus) in the Iliad she perpetually rouses and excites Jupiter to providential energies about secondary concerns. With respect to the pomegranate, the Emperor Julian, in his Oration to the Mother of the Gods, informs us, that it was not permitted to

be eaten in the sacred rites of the goddess, because it is *a terrestrial plant.* Perhaps, therefore, by Juno holding a pomegranate in her hand, her dominion over earthly natures is implied.

Page 169. *With respect to the cuckoo, &c.*] Pausanias is certainly right, when he says that such relations as the present ought not to be neglected; though he was far from apprehending its meaning. The concealed sense, however, of this fable appears to me to be as follows: Jupiter, desirous that Juno, by participating his divine energies, should become profoundly united to him (for this is the meaning of his being enamoured with Juno), is beheld by the goddess as subsisting according to *sublime wisdom.* For a bird may be considered as the image of *elevation:* and a cuckoo, according to Ælian, is *a most wise bird.* Let it, however, be carefully remembered, that the divinities are profoundly united to each other perpetually, according to an energy separate from mundane concerns, and yet at the same time providentially preside over every part of the universe: but fables, in order to exhibit these different energies to our view, by apt images, are obliged to represent them as taking place at different times.

Page 171. *The reply of the Pythian oracle to Glaucus, the son of Epicides, king of the Spartans* (read *and king of the Spartans).*] That children should be punished for the crimes of their parents, which the Pythian oracle said was the case with the posterity of Pelops, or cities for the sins of individuals, to a mind unenlightened by sublime philosophy, must appear highly absurd and unjust. But if we direct our attention to the preexistence of human souls, and consider that many are punished in the present, for offences which they have committed in a former life; and that those, whose guilt is of a similar kind, are by the wise administration of providence, brought together, so as to form one family, or one city, the apparent absurdity in this doctrine immediately vanishes, and the equity of divine vengeance becomes conspicuous. Proclus, in his book entitled *Ten Doubts concerning Providence,* informs us that the *mysteries*

evince that certain persons are punished for the crimes of their progenitors, and that gods who preside over expiations, λυσιοι θεοι, free offending souls from such punishments.

Page 180. *The oracle.*] The whole of this oracle (for Pausanias only gives the first part of it) is given by Herodotus, lib. vi.

Page 180. *Jupiter Phyxius.*] Jupiter was so called because he assists fugitives.

Page 183. *The following lines.*] These lines are in the last book of the Iliad, v. 765 and 766 of Mr. Pope's translation.

Page 189. *Dispersed the darkness from his eyes.*] The circumstance respecting Diomed, here mentioned by Pausanias, is related by Homer in the fifth book of the Iliad; where Minerva is represented thus addressing Diomed:

Αχλυν δ' αυ τοι απ' οφθαλμων ελον, ἡ πριν ἑωτην,
Οφρ' ευ γινωσκης ημεν θεον, ηδε και ανδρα.

i. e.

"From mortal mists thine eyes are purg'd by me,
And well enabled gods and men to see."

Minerva is with great propriety represented by Homer as thus employed: for she not only enkindles intellectual light in the soul, but removes that darkness, which, when resident in the eye of the soul, prevents it from beholding the nature of gods and men. And here it may not be improper to observe, that, through ignorance of ancient theology, a very beautiful passage in the fifth book of the Iliad has not been understood either by any of the translators or commentators on Homer that I am acquainted with. This passage is in the beginning of the fifth book, and consists of the 4th and 7th lines, which are these:

δαιε οι εκ κορυθος τε και ασπιδος ακαμαντα πυρ,
τοιον θ' οιον δαιεν απο κραατος τε και ωμων.

These lines, literally and truly translated, are as follow:

"*She* (that is Minerva) *enkindled* an unwearied fire from his helmet and his shield." And, "Such a fire did *she enkindle* from his head and his shoulders." But all the translators ren-

der these lines, as if *unwearied fire* in the first line and *fire* in the second were nominatives, and not accusatives. I am indebted to Proclus in Plat. Polit. p. 353, for this information.

Page 189. *Three eyes.*] These three eyes in the statue of Jupiter were doubtless designed as symbols of those three deities, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, of whom we have given a copious account in a former note: and these eyes being fixed in one body, signify the profound union of these deities with each other. The verse of Homer, cited by Pausanias, is in the Iliad, lib. viii.

Page 197. *Homer.*] Iliad 4, verse 193. For what reason Pausanias concludes that Æsculapius is called a god by Homer in these verses, I cannot possibly conjecture. It cannot be from the epithet αμυμων *blameless*; for this is given by Homer to men, as to Chalcas in the first book of the Iliad, and to Ulysses in the Odyssey: and there is no other word which seems in the least to favour the construction of Pausanias.

Page 207. *Orus.*] This Egyptian deity is the same with Apollo and the Sun, according to Herodotus, lib. ii. 144. Ælian 10. 14, the Emperor Julian, oration 4. Horapollo. lib. i. c. 17. Plutarch de Iside. Porphyry apud Euseb. and Macrobius 1. Saturn. 20.

Page 208. *The signature of a trident.*] The following passage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias unfolds the meaning of Neptune's trident in a manner perfectly satisfactory, and at the same time shows the great beauty of the symbols employed by the ancients in their arcane theology. τρι τἀ εστι τα εγκοσμια, τα μεν ουρανια, τα δε χθονια, και τα μεἐαξυ τουἰων, πυρια, αερινα, ὑδαἰινα. και τουἰων μεν τα ουρανια εχει ο Ζευς, τα δε χθονια ο Πλουἰων, τα δε μεἐαξυ ο Ποσειδων. δια τουἰο Ζευς σκηπἰρον εχει, ως σημαινων το δικαστικον. ο δε Ποσειδων δια τουἰο τρἰαιναν, ως φορος του τρἰτου τουτου του μεἐαξυ. ο δε Πλουἰων κυνεην, δια το σκοἐεινον. ωσπερ γαρ κυανεη κρυπἐει την κεφαλην, ουἰω και αυἰη η δυναμις των αφανων εστι. That is, "Mundane natures are triple: for some are celestial, others terrestrial, and others situated between these; viz. natures fiery, aerial, aquatic. And of these, Jupiter possesses such as

are celestial, Pluto such as are terrestrial, and Neptune the natures between these. Hence Jupiter holds a sceptre, which signifies his judicial power*. *But Neptune a trident, because he is the inspective guardian of this triple nature, which has a middle situation.* And Pluto wears a helmet, on account of the darkness over which he presides. For, as a helmet conceals the head, so Pluto is the power that presides over invisible natures."

And here, a reader unskilled in the ancient theology will doubtless object, that according to this doctrine, Neptune must either be the same with Jūno, since he is the divinity of air, or there must be two divinities of the air. To this I answer, that Neptune, considered as one divinity who presides over all the middle elements, comprehends in his essence Juno, according to her sublunary distribution; so that both Neptune and Juno govern the air, but the former more universally, and the latter more particularly; the former ruling at the same time over other natures, but the latter presiding over air alone. And the same reasoning must be extended to Neptune and Vulcan, with respect to the element of fire.

I only add, that the helmet of Pluto, which Olympiodorus speaks of in the above citation, is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, lib. v. ver. 845.

——————— αυΐαρ Αθηνη,
Δυν' Αϊδος κυνεην, μη μιν ιδοι οβριμος Αρης.

i. e.

"Minerva then, lest powerful Mars should view
Her visage, cover'd it with Pluto's helm."

And from hence we may infer the great antiquity of helmets that entirely covered the face.

Page 217. *Depriving Homer of sight.*] Those who have happily penetrated the profound wisdom of the ancients, will be easily convinced that the report concerning the blindness of Homer is merely fabulous, containing some recondite information, like other divine fables of antiquity. For he is said to

* It likewise signifies, as we have before observed from Proclus, his *commanding* or *ruling* characteristic.

have lost his sight through his accusation of Helen. But it would be ridiculous in the extreme, if we take all that is related of Helen in the literal sense, to suppose that Homer should have been deprived of his sight for reviling such an infamous woman. Indeed, not only the blindness of Homer is fabulous, but both the Iliad and Odyssey are to be considered as divine fables. I do not mean to assert by this, that there never was such a war as the Trojan, or such a person as Ulysses: but it is my opinion, that Homer, by combining fiction with certain historical facts, has delivered to us some very concealed and valuable information in these two admirable poems.

That the rape of Helen, indeed, is fabulous, was the opinion of no less a person than Plato, as is evident from the following passage from his Phædrus: "There is an ancient purification for those who offend in matters respecting mythology, which Homer did not perceive, but which was known to Stesichorus. For being deprived of his eyes through his accusation of Helen, he was not, like Homer, ignorant of the cause of his blindness, but knew it, as being a musician. So that he immediately composed the following lines:

> False was my tale; thou ne'er across the main
> In beauteous ships didst fly, Troy's lofty towers to gain.

And thus having composed a poem directly contrary to what he had before published, and which is called a recantation, he immediately recovered his lost sight*." That the blindness, too, of Homer, and his account of the Trojan war, are pregnant with mystic meaning, is thus beautifully shown by Proclus on Plato's Republic, p. 393: "Stesichorus, who considered the whole fable of Helen as a true narration, who approved the consequent transactions, and established his poetry accordingly, with great propriety suffered the punishment of his folly, that

* εστι δε τοις αμαρτανουσι περι μυθολογιαν καθαρμος αρχαιος, ον Ομηρος μεν ουκ ησθετο, Στησιχορος δε. των γαρ ομματων στερηθεις δια την Ελενης καθηγοριαν, ουκ ηγνοησεν, ωσπερ Ομηρος, αλλ' ατε μουσικος ων, εγνω την αιτιαν· και ποιει ευθυς. Ουκ εστ' ετυμος ο λογος ουτος· ουδ' εβας εν νηυσιν ευσσελμοις, ουδ' ικεο Περγαμα Τροιας. ποιησας δη πασαν την καλουμενην παλινωδιαν, παραχρημα ανεβλεψεν. P. 217. Edit. Vienn.

is, ignorance: but at length, through the assistance of music, he is said to have acknowledged his error; and thus, through understanding the mysteries concerning Helen and the Trojan war, to have recovered his sight. But Homer is said to have been blind, not on account of his ignorance of these mysteries, as Stesichorus, but through a more perfect habit of the soul; viz. by separating himself from sensible beauty, establishing his intelligence above all apparent harmony, and extending the intellect of his soul to unapparent and true harmony. Hence, he is said to have been blind, because that intellectual beauty to which he raised himself, cannot be usurped by corporeal eyes. On this account, too, fables bordering on tragedy represent Homer as deprived of sight, on account of his accusation of Helen. But fables, in my opinion, intend to signify by Helen all the beauty subsisting about generation, for which there is a perpetual battle of souls, till the more intellectual, having vanquished the more irrational forms of life, return to that place from which they originally came. But, according to some, the period of their circulation about sensible forms consists of ten thousand years, since a thousand years produce one ambit as of one year. For nine years therefore, *i. e.* for nine thousand years, souls revolve about generation; but in the tenth having vanquished all the barbaric tumult, they are said to have returned to their paternal habitations." I only add farther, that the English reader who is desirous of understanding the mystic meaning of the Odyssey, may perhaps find his expectations not entirely disappointed by perusing the notes to my translation of Porphyry on Homer's Cave of the Nymphs, in vol. ii. of Proclus on Euclid.

Page 218. *Sacrifices and incantations.*] He whose intellectual eye is strong enough to perceive that *all things sympathize with all*, will be convinced that the *magic*, cultivated by the ancient philosophers, is founded on a theory no less sublime than rational and true. Such a one will consider, as Plotinus observes, the nature of soul, as every where easy to be attracted, when a proper subject is at hand, which is easily passive to its influence. And that every thing adapted to imitation is readily

passive, and is, like a mirror, able to seize a certain form, and reflect it to the view.

Page 222. *Ceres, indeed, is called Chthonia.*] *Chthonia* means terrestrial; and Ceres was, we may suppose, thus denominated from her profound union with Vesta, the proper divinity of the earth. "For some (says Proclus on Euclid) call both the Earth and Ceres, Vesta, and they say that Rhea totally participates her nature, and that all generative causes are contained in her essence."

Page 227. *The hydra.*] As we have already shown that the labours of Hercules are allegorical, the account given of his cutting off the hydra's heads, which formed one of his labours, must consequently be a fabulous narration. By the hydra, therefore, the ancients seem to have occultly signified the various and material form of the soul, which branches out into—1. Communication with the lives and opinions of the multitude. 2. Multiform desires, which divide the soul about body, and cause it to energize about externals; at one time connecting it with irrational pleasures, and at another time with actions indefinite and opposing each other. 3. The senses, which are educated as it were with the rational soul, and deceive its cogitative power: for these are multiform, and perceive nothing accurate or true. 4. Phantasies, on account of their figured and divisible nature, and immense variety, which do not suffer us to betake ourselves to an indivisible and immaterial essence, but draw down those who are hastening to the apprehension of such a nature, to a passive intelligence. 5. Opinions, because these are various and infinite, tend to externals, and are mingled with phantasy and sense. The hydra's heads, therefore, are images of all these, which Hercules, who is an intellectual hero, is with great propriety said to have destroyed.

Page 228. *To lead back Semele.*] Bacchus is the monad, or proximately exempt producing cause of the Titans, or ultimate artificers of things; and Semele, as we have shown from Olympiodorus, in a former note, is sublunary fire, *i. e.* the divinity of sublunary fire. As Semele, therefore, according to her ultimate progressions, is suspended from Bacchus, she may very properly

be said to have been led back from Hades, or the profundities of a material nature, by Bacchus; because every divine monad elevates to itself the series of which it is the head. I only add, that it is by no means improbable that this Alcyonian lake may be one of those passages through which the defluxions of the elements are transmitted to the inmost recesses of the earth, so as to form those subterranean rivers which are so much celebrated by ancient theologists. So that nothing more is meant by this fable, than that this divine power Semele, while she illuminates the profundities of the earth with as great a portion of divine light as they are capable of receiving, of a light which is enshrined as it were in the grossest fire, is at the same time elevated by Bacchus to an energy perfectly immaterial, impassive, and pure. For divine illumination, while it proceeds into the dark and rebounding receptacle of matter, is neither obscured by its darkness, defiled by its impurity, nor debilitated by its privation of reality.

Page 235. *Homer.*] These verses, the translator of which is Mr. Pope, are to be found in the Odyssey, lib. xix. ver. 178.

Page 238. *The oracle.*] This oracle is given at length by Herodotus, lib. i. p. 17.

Page 241. *Who has dared to corrupt the oracle of the god.*] There cannot be the least doubt but that the greater part of men of the present day believe the ancient oracles to have been nothing more than the tricks of designing priests; and the remaining part, which is certainly a very small one, will, as it appears to me, ascribe them to the influence of evil spirits. However, as it is a well known fact that most of the oracles ceased when the Christian religion made its appearance, it is impossible that they should have been nothing more than fraudulent tricks; for, if this had been the case, there was a much greater necessity than ever for the exercise of such tricks, when a new religion started up, diametrically opposite to the old one; nor can any reason be assigned why on this hypothesis the oracles should cease. On the other hand, to say that they were produced by the influence of evil spirits, is just as absurd as to assert that

evil is naturally the source of good; for the tendency of the oracles was evidently directed to the good both of individuals and cities, which in numberless instances they were the means of procuring. It may therefore be safely concluded that they were produced by divine influence; and that they ceased when the Christian religion appeared, because the parts of the earth in which the oracles were given then became too impure to receive the prophetic inspiration. For, as we have observed in a former note, there must be a concurrence of proper *instruments*, *times*, and *places*, in order to receive divine influence in a proper manner; so that when all or any of these are wanting, this influence will either be not at all received, or will be received mingled with the delusions of error. But let the reader who desires popular conviction of this important fact, that there was no collusion *in general* in the ancient oracles, peruse the first book of *Cicero De Divinatione*; and unless his intellectual eye is dreadfully blinded by the darkness of *perfect* atheism, which has now spread itself among all ranks of men, he must be at least convinced that they were not produced by the knavery of priests. That the priests, indeed, were sometimes corrupted, the passage before us of Pausanias, and many other instances which might be adduced, sufficiently prove; but this does not in the least invalidate the existence of divine influence, or the reality of oracular prediction; because the best things always have been and always will be perverted, through the weakness and viciousness of the bulk of mankind.

Page 260. *The Archon Eponymus.*] Sylburgius observes here, that governors of this kind were called *Archons*, because they annually possessed the supreme authority: but that they were called *Eponymi*, because the years in the fasti and annals were inscribed after their names; just as among the Romans the years were not only numbered from the time in which their city was built, but were rendered remarkable by the names of their consuls.

Page 268. *Jupiter Euanemus.*] That is, Jupiter *the cause of prosperous winds.*

Page 270. *Neptune Hippocurius.*] Pindar, in his Isthmian and Nemæan odes, shows that a festival was celebrated by the Thebans in honour of Neptune Hippocurius.

Page 270. *Britomartis.*] This word is a compound of the Cretan words βριλυς *sweet*, and μαρτις *a virgin*: and according to Bochart, the latter of these words is derived from the Arabic *marath.*

Page 272. *Enyalian Mars.*] That is, *Mars the son of Bellona.*

Page 272. *Enodian Hecate.*] Diana, according to Festus, was called *Enodia*, because she presides over ways. We have before observed that there is a wonderful union between Hecate and Diana; and hence Proclus in his *common hymn*, which has been already cited in these notes, calls Hecate *Prothyræa*, which, as we are informed by Diodorus, is one of the appellations of Diana.

Page 278. *Orthia Diana.*] Hesychius informs us that Diana came to be thus denominated from a place in Arcadia where she had a temple.

Page 279. *Sprinkled with human blood.*] If we attend to the pre-existence of human souls, and consider the crimes which they may have committed in former periods of existence on the earth, and at the same time consider that nothing escapes the penetrating eye of providence, and that all its administrations are consummately just, the apparent cruelty in the injunction of this oracle vanishes. For of what consequence is it whether a man who deserves to die is slain before an altar, or put to death in a common way? And we may be sure that no man is punished either with death or the loss of his possessions, or is in short oppressed with any calamity, unjustly. For though the conduct of such a one in that period of his existence in which he suffers may deserve a milder destiny, yet it may be safely concluded that in some past period of existence, it has been such as to demand the punishment which he endures. It must, however, be observed, that this doctrine does not hold good with respect to truly worthy men, by which I mean those heroic souls of whom I have given an account in a former note; for

the calamities which befall others; when they happen to these, are sent by divinity as purifications necessary to the perfection of their virtue. The number of these, however, is but small, and consequently the exceptions to this observation are but few.

Page 282. *Are believed to be brothers.*] *Sleep* and *Death* were with great propriety said by the ancients to be twins, from the intimate alliance between *Sense* and *Phantasy*, from which we are liberated by these divinities. For as *Sleep* frees us from the *senses*, so *Death* from the *phantasy*. But *Sleep*, considered as a god, is that power through which the divinities are enabled to energize in a manner separate from all inferior concerns, at the same time that their providential care is extended to every part of the universe: and this latter energy was denominated by ancient theologists *vigilance*. I only add, that the passage of Homer alluded to by Pausanias is Iliad 16, v. 672, and that Sleep and Death are called brothers both by Orpheus and Hesiod.

Page 285. *Chiron.*] Chiron, according to fables, was the son of Saturn by the nymph Philyra the daughter of Ocean. And it is said that Saturn, in order to elude Rhea, changed himself into a horse when he was connected with Philyra. Hence the upper parts of Chiron, as far as to his navel, were those of a man, and his lower parts were those of a horse. Chiron, therefore, is the image of a man, who lived in the confines of the kingdom of Jupiter and Saturn, or, in other words, who lived a life partly consisting of the political and partly of the intellectual virtues, but yet so that he possessed the former in greater perfection than the latter. For the fable, by asserting that his upper parts were human, signifies his living according to the *politic virtues*, of which Jupiter is the exemplar; since Jupiter is peculiarly πατηρ ανδρωντε θεωντε, the *father* of *gods* and *men*. As Jupiter, therefore, is *eminently* a political god, man must partake in an *eminent* degree of a political life. But the lower parts of Chiron evidently partake of the nature of Saturn: and Saturn is the source of an *intellectual life*, which he causes to receive the most extreme division. But what are we to understand by Saturn changing himself into a horse? I an-

swer, that a certain dæmoniacal power of the order of Saturn is signified by this mutation. For ancient theologists called the processions of any divinity to the last of things, according to different orders and degrees, *mutations*. So that the fable, by asserting that Chiron was the son of Saturn by one of the nymphs of the ocean, signifies that a Saturnian dæmon and a nymph co-operated with the parents of Chiron, by a certain natural sympathy, in begetting him.

Page 285. *The judgment of Paris.*] The fable here alluded to is thus beautifully explained by the philosopher Sallust, in his treatise De Diis et Mundo, cap. 4. "It is said that Discord, at a banquet of the gods, threw a golden apple, and that a dispute about it arising among the goddesses, they were sent by Jupiter to take the judgment of Paris, who, charmed with the beauty of Venus, gave her the apple in preference to the rest. In this fable, the banquet denotes the supermundane powers of the gods; and on this account they subsist in conjunction with each other: but the golden apple denotes the world, which, on account of its composition from contrary natures, is not improperly said to be thrown by Discord, or Strife. But again, since different gifts are imparted to the world by different gods, they appear to contest with each other for the apple. And a soul living according to sense (for this is Paris), not perceiving other powers in the universe, asserts that the contended apple subsists alone through the beauty of Venus."

Page 285. *Dragging the three-mouthed dog from Hades.*] By a dog the ancients signified the *discriminating* and at the same time *reproving* power of the soul. For of this power the *sagacity* and *barking* of a dog are images. And as its energies are triple (for it detects and reproves the fallacies of the *senses, imagination,* and *opinion*), these are represented by the three heads of Cerberus. The great Hercules, therefore, drew this dog from Hades up to the regions of day; viz. he liberated this power of his soul from its residence in the dark profundities of a material nature, and raised it to the light of truth. This account of Cerberus appears to me to be more accurate than that which

I have given in my Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.

Page 286. *Pirithous and Theseus forcibly taking away Helen.*] "Theseus and Pirithous," says Proclus, in Plat. Polit. p. 381, "are fabled to have ravished Helen, and descended to the infernal regions; *i. e.* were lovers both of intelligible and visible beauty. Afterwards one of these (Theseus), on account of his magnanimity, was liberated by Hercules from Hades; but the other (Pirithous) remained there because he could not sustain the arduous altitude of divine contemplation."

Page 287. *Bacchus, whom, in my opinion, they very properly denominate Psila.*] Bacchus may with great propriety be called *Psilu*, or *winge*; for he is an *intellectual* deity, and *intellect* is of an *elevating* nature.

Page 288. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. xxiv. ver. 41.

Page 295. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. xviii. ver. 140.

Page 310. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. ix. ver. 292; and in the same verse Enope is mentioned.

Page 310. *The small Iliad.*] Herodotus, in his Life of Homer, says that this poem was composed by Homer, while he resided with Thestorides, and that afterwards the pedagogue published it as his own.

Page 313. *In his catalogue.*] Iliad. lib. ii. The verses which follow are from the Odyssey, lib. xxi. ver. 15, and lib. iii. ver. 489.

Page 314. *The Great Eoeæ.*] This poem, which is likewise called *The Catalogue of Women*, is ascribed to Hesiod; and Fabricius conjectures that the *Shield of Hercules* is a part of it.

Page 359. *But some god who had so often preserved Aristomenes, &c.*] The readers of that most ingenious and entertaining work called the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* will doubtless be agreeably surprised to find, if they have not discovered it before, that this interesting account of the preservation of Aristomenes in the deep chasm, has been taken from Pausanias with some alteration by the author of those tales, and forms one of the most curious parts of the history of *Sindbad the Sailor*. As

the Arabians, a little after the year of Christ 820, under the auspices of the Caliph Almaimon, who was the great patron of literature, and indeed caused to be translated the best works of the Grecian philosophers and mathematicians into Arabic, perhaps Pausanias was translated by them at the same time. I only add, that Aristomenes appears to have been one of those *heroes* of whom we have given an account in a former note.

Page 380. *The anger of the Dioscuri.*] We must not suppose that a divine nature is capable of anger, or can be appeased by gifts: for in this case it would be subject to passion, and influenced by delight. But by such expressions as these nothing more is implied than the effects which vice and virtue produce in our souls. For guilt, as Sallust* well observes, prevents us from receiving the illuminations of the gods, and subjects us to the power of avenging dæmons; and prayers and sacrifices become the remedies of our vices, and cause us to partake of the goodness of the gods. So that it is the same thing, says he, to assert that divinity is turned from the evil, as to say that the sun is concealed from those who are deprived of sight.

Page 383. *Sacadas and Pronomus.*] For particulars respecting Sacadas, consult the Corinthiacs and Eliacs of Pausanias. Suidas informs us that Pronomus was a piper remarkable for his great beard. He is also mentioned by Aristophanes in Ecclesiazusis, and by Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

Page 386. *In the Iliad.*] The particulars respecting Patroclus are in Iliad 16, ver. 130; respecting the spies, in Iliad 10, ver. 222; and respecting the spy sent to Troy, in Iliad 10, ver. 244. The passage respecting those that were left to guard the walls of Troy is in Iliad 8, ver. 518, &c. And the last passage is in Iliad 14, ver. 378, &c.

Page 391. *Fortune.*] *Fortune* is that divine power which disposes things differing from each other, and happening contrary to expectation, to beneficent purposes. Or it may be defined that deific distribution which causes every thing to fill up the lot assigned to it by the condition of its being. This divi-

* De Diis et Mundo.

nity, too, congregates all sublunary causes, and enables them to confer on sublunary effects that particular good which their nature and merits eminently deserve. But the following extraordinary passage from Simplicius on Aristotle's Physics, lib. ii. p. 81, concerning *Fortune*, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to readers of every description. η της τυχης επικρατεια την υποσεληνην μαλιστα του παντος μοιραν διακοσμει, παρ' η και η του ενδεχομενου φυσις, ην ατακτον ουσαν καθ' εαυτην, η τυχη μετα των αλλων αρχηγικων αιτιων κατευθυνει, και τατ'ει, και κυβερνα. διο και πηδαλιον αυτη διδουσι κρατειν, ως κυβερνωση τα εν τω ωντω της γενεσεως πλεοντα. και το πηδαλιον επι σφαιρας ιδρυουσιν ως τι αστατον της γενεσεως κατευθυνουσης. κερας δε Αμαλθειας εν τη ετερα ταιν χειροιν καρπων πληρες, ως του τυχειν παντων θειων καρπων αιτια. δια τουτο δε, και πολεων και οικων, και ενος εκαστου τιμωμεν τυχας, οτι πορρω διασταντες της θειας ενωσεως, κινδυνευομεν διαμαρτειν της επιβαλλουσης μεθεξεως. και δεομεθα προς το τυχειν της τε θεου τυχης, και των εν τοις κρειττοσι γενεσει την αυτην εχουσων ιδιοτητα. και εστι μεν πασα τυχη αγαθη. και γαρ η πασα τευξις αγαθου τινος εστιν, ουδε υπεστη τι κακον υπο του θεου. των δε αγαθων, τα μεν εστι προηγουμενα, τα δε κολαστικα, ἡ τιμωρα, απερ και κακα λεγειν εθισμεθα. και δια τουτο και τυχην, την μεν αγαθην ονομαζομεν, η τις τον τυχειν των προηγουμενων αγαθων αιτια εστι, την δε κακην, η τις κολασεως ἡ τιμωριας ημας παρασκευαζει τυχειν. That is, "The power of Fortune particularly disposes in an orderly manner the sublunary part of the universe, in which the nature of that which is contingent is contained, and which being essentially disordered, Fortune, in conjunction with other primary causes, directs, places in order, and governs. Hence she is represented guiding a rudder, because she governs things sailing on the sea of generation. Her rudder, too, is fixed on a globe, because she directs that which is unstable in generation. In her other hand she holds the horn of Amalthea, which is full of fruits, because she is the cause of obtaining all divine fruits. And on this account we venerate the fortunes of cities and houses, and of each individual; because, being very remote from divine union, we are in danger of being deprived of its participation, and require in order to obtain it the assistance of

the goddess Fortune, and of those natures* superior to the human who possess the characteristic of this divinity. *Indeed every fortune is good; for every attainment respects something good, nor does any thing evil subsist from divinity. But of things good some are precedaneous, and others are of a punishing or revenging characteristic, which we are accustomed to call evils. Hence we speak of two Fortunes, one of which we denominate* GOOD, *and which is the cause of our obtaining precedaneous goods, and the other* EVIL, *which prepares us to receive punishment or revenge.*"

From this beautiful passage it is easy to see why *Fortune* in the Orphic hymns is called *Diana;* for each of these divinities governs the sublunary world. At the same time it is a singular circumstance, that among the images of Fortune in Montfaucon there is but one with a rudder on a globe.

Page 391. *Iliad.*] Minerva, and *Enyo*, or *Bellona*, are mentioned together, Iliad 5, v. 333. Nuptials are said to be taken care of by Venus.. Iliad 5, ver. 429.

Page 397. *Particularly by Plato, the son of Ariston.*] That Plato firmly believed in the immortality of the soul, is evident from his Phædrus, the tenth book of his Republic, and his seventh epistle, which contains the following remarkable passage: πειθεσθαι δε ουΐως αει χρη τοις παλαιοις τε και ἱεροις λογοις ἡ δη μηνυουσιν ημιν αθαναΐον ψυχην ειναι, δικαστας τε ισχειν, και τινειν τας μεγιστας τιμωριας, ὁταν τις απαλλαχθη του σωματος. *i. e.* "It is proper, indeed, always to believe in *ancient and sacred discourses*, which announce to us that the soul is immortal, and that it has judges of its conduct, and suffers the greatest punishments, when it is liberated from the body."

Page 398. *That affirm Jupiter was brought up among them.*] It appears to me, that the reason why so many nations have asserted that Jupiter was born and educated among them, originated from hence: Heroic souls, such as we have already described, who, in consequence of knowing that they descended from Jupiter, and living a life conformable to the characteristic

* *i. e.* Angels, dæmons, and heroes.

of that divinity, were called the sons of Jupiter, and assumed the name of their parent, may be supposed to have been born in different periods in every part of the earth; and this has given occasion to so many nations to boast that Jupiter was born among them, each nation confounding a hero who called himself Jupiter, for the reason above assigned, with the divinity of that name. I add, that *Crete* was fabulously called the birth-place of Jupiter by the ancient theologists: I say, fabulously, for Proclus informs us, that these theologists meant by *Crete* το νοητον *an intelligible nature*, in which Jupiter may with great propriety and beauty be said to have been born and nursed.

Page 400. *Thamyris.*] The verses of Homer respecting Thamyris, alluded to by Pausanias, are in the second book of the Iliad, v. 105, &c. and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> And Dorion, famed for Thamyris' disgrace,
> Superior once of all the tuneful race,
> Till, vain of mortals empty praise, he strove
> To match the seed of cloud-compelling Jove!
> Too daring bard! whose unsuccessful pride
> Th' immortal Muses in their art defied.
> Th' avenging Muses of the light of day
> Deprived his eyes, and snatch'd his voice away;
> No more his heavenly voice was heard to sing,
> His hand no more awaked the silver string.

But we must not suppose that Homer means Thamyris was corporeally blind; for the intention of the poet in this narration, which is doubtless fabulous, was to signify that Thamyris, through despising a deific energy, became mentally blind, and thus no longer experienced that inspiring influence of the Muses, which prior to this used to illuminate the greatest eye of his soul with divine light. The blindness of Homer, which was far different from that of Thamyris, we have explained in a former note.

Page 407. *Herodotus.*] Lib. iv.

Page 408. *Homer.*] Iliad 11, ver. 681.

Page 408. *Iphidamas.*] Iliad 11, ver. 244.

NOTES

ON THE

SECOND VOLUME.

PAGE 2. *Endymion.*] The following remarkable passage, from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo, contains an explanation of the fable of Endymion. Ελεγετο δε ουτος (Ενδυμιων) αει καθευδειν, διοτι αστρονομων επ' ερημιας διετριβε· διο και φιλος τη σεληνη· ὁ και περι Πτολεμαιου φασιν. ουτος γαρ επι τεσσαρακοντα ετη εν τοις λεγομενοις πτεροις του Κανωβου ωκει αστρονομια σχολαζων. διο και ανεγραψατο τας στηλας εκει των ευρημενων αυτῳ ἀστρονομικων δογματων. That is, "He (Endymion) is said to have slept perpetually, because he applied himself in solitude to the study of astronomy. Hence, too, he is said to have been beloved by the Moon. And the same things are reported of Ptolemy, who gave himself wholly to the study of astronomy for forty years, in that place which is called the *Pteroi* of Canobus. On which account he inscribed on the pillars contained in that place, the astronomical dogmata which he invented." I only add, that the Grecian architects by the word πτερα, or *wings*, signified the roofs of their temples, as may be seen from the Greek Scholiast on this verse of Aristophanes:

τας γαρ υμων οικιας εριψομεν προς αιετον.

i. e.

"We shall cover your houses towards the north."

For the Scholiast observes, that Aristophanes uses these words on account of the roofs of temples, which were like the wings of a flying eagle. See likewise Suidas, and Eustathius on the

last book of the Iliad. Ptolemy, therefore, from consuming most probably a great part of every day and night on the roof of the temple of Canobus, in the open air, for the space of forty years, is very properly compared by Olympiodorus to Endymion.

Page 9. *They ought to consult the Delphic Apollo, about the means of being freed from the evils, &c.*] The prodigious advantages which mankind derived from prophecy, are beautifully shown by Plato in the following passage from his Phædrus: "Indeed, in the greatest diseases and labours, to which certain persons are sometimes subject, through the indignation of the gods, in consequence of guilt; fury, when it takes place, predicting what they stand in need of, discovers a liberation of such evils, by flying to prayer and the worship of the gods. Hence, obtaining by this means purifications, and the advantages of initiation, it renders such a one free from disasters, both for the present and future time, by discovering to him a solution of his present evil, through the means of one who is properly furious and divinely inspired."

Page 13. *Homer.*] Iliad 11, v. 721.

Page 17. *The golden race.*] The different ages of mankind, which are celebrated by Hesiod in his *Works and Days*, signify the different lives which the individuals of the human species pass through; and, as Proclus on Hesiod beautifully observes, they may be comprehended in this triad, the *golden*, the *silver*, and the *brazen* age. But by the *golden* age an intellectual life is implied. For such a life is pure, impassive, and free from sorrow; and of this impassivity and purity gold is an image, through its never being subject to rust or putrefaction. Such a life, too, is very properly said to be under Saturn, because Saturn, as we have before shown, is an *intellectual* god. By the *silver* age a rustic and natural life is implied, in which the attention of the rational soul is entirely directed to the care of the body, but without proceeding to the extremity of vice. And by the *brazen* age, a dire, tyrannic, and cruel life is implied, which is entirely passive, and proceeds to the very extremity of vice. The order of these metals, as Proclus observes, harmonizes with that of these lives. "For (says he) *gold* is *solar-*

form, because the sun is solely immaterial light. But *silver* is *lunar-form*, because the moon partakes of shadow, just as silver does of rust. And *brass* is earthly, so far as, not having a nature similar to a lucid body, it is replete with abundance of corruption."

Page 17. *Curetes.*] The Curetes are gods of an unpolluted guardian characteristic, and first subsist in that order of gods which is called by the Chaldæan theologists νοερος, *intellectual.* The *Corybantes*, who form the guardian triad of *supermundane* gods, are analogous to these.

Page 18. *In consequence of having dethroned Saturn.*] By Jupiter dethroning Saturn, nothing more is meant, than that Jupiter is the medium, through which the prolific powers and intellectual illuminations of Saturn proceed, and are participated by the sensible world.

Page 26. *The Stymphalian birds, and the Nemean lion.*] By the Stymphalian birds which were driven away by Hercules, and were so large that they obstructed the light of the sun, the objects of phantasy are signified, which prevent the light of truth from shining in the soul: and the Nemean lion signifies anger.

Page 28. *Homer in the Iliad.*] The verses alluded to by Pausanias are these:

> Heaven's gates spontaneous open to the powers,
> Heaven's sounding gates kept by the winged Hours.
>
> ILIAD 8, v. 393.

Page 28. *That the goddess is drawn by a mule.*] The moon may with great propriety be represented drawn by a mule, because, as Proclus on Hesiod, p. 174, observes, she resembles the mixed nature of this animal; "becoming dark through her participation of earth, and deriving her proper light from the sun." γης μεν εχουσα το σκοτιζεσθαι, ηλιου δε το οικειον ειληχεναι φως. ταυτη μεν ουν οικειωται προς αυτην η ημιονος.

Page 35. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. xiii. v. 389, in Mr. Pope's translation, lin. 493, and Iliad xvi. v. 482, in Pope's Homer, v. 592. The Greek Scholiast on these verses informs us that

Hercules was crowned with the leaves of the poplar tree, for having vanquished Cerberus.

Page 36. *Pindar.*] In his first Olympic ode. The Scholiast on this passage observes, that Diana was loved by Alpheus, and that, on this account, one altar was raised to both in Olympia. Hence Diana was called *Alpheioa.*

Page 37. *Opportunity.*] Proclus, in MS. Comment. in Alcibiadem, informs us, that the Pythagoreans called the first cause, from which all things are supplied with good, *Opportunity;* because it is to this that all things owe the perfection of their nature.

Page 39. *It is evident, therefore, that this is an appellation of Jupiter.*] It appears to me, however, that by *the leader of the Parcæ* we must understand Venus. For in the Orphic hymn to that goddess, it is expressly said of her, that "*she rules over the Parcæ:*

Και κραλεις τρισσων μοιρων.

Page 48. *Of Muses gracefully around him stand.*] The following account of the Muses is from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus: "The whole world is bound in indissoluble bonds from Apollo and the Muses, and is both one and all-perfect, through the communications of these divinities; possessing the former through the Apolloniacal monad*, but its all-perfect subsistence through the number of the Muses. For the number nine, which is generated from the first perfect number, (that is, three) is, through similitude and sameness, accommodated to the multiform causes of the mundane order and harmony; all these causes at the same time being collected into one summit for the purpose of producing one consummate perfection; for the Muses generate the variety of reasons with which the world is replete; but Apollo comprehends in union all the multitude of these. And the Muses give subsistence to the harmony of soul; but Apollo is the leader of intellectual and indivisible harmony. The Muses distribute the phænomena according to

* By a *monad* in divine natures, is meant that which contains *distinct*, but at the same time *profoundly-united* multitude, and which produces a multitude exquisitely allied to itself.

harmonical reasons: but Apollo comprehends unapparent and separate harmony. And though both give subsistence to the same things, yet the Muses effect this according to number, but Apollo according to union. And the Muses, indeed, distribute the unity of Apollo; but Apollo unites harmonic multitude, converting and comprehending it; for the multitude of the Muses proceeds from the essence of *Musagetes*, which is both separate, and subsists according to the nature of *the one*."

Page 51. *And they are employed agreeable to Homer's description of them.*] The passage alluded to by Pausanias is in the tenth book of the Odyssey, v. 348, &c. and is thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> Ministrant to their queen with busy care,
> Four faithful handmaids these soft rites prepare;
> Nymphs sprung from fountains, or from shady woods,
> Or the fair offspring of the sacred floods.
> One o'er the couches painted carpets threw,
> Whose purple lustre glow'd against the view;
> White linen lay beneath. Another placed
> The silver stands with golden flaskets graced;
> With dulcet bev'rage this the beaker crown'd
> Fair in the midst, with gilded cups around;
> That in the tripod o'er the kindled pile
> The water pours; the bubbling waters boil:
> An ample vase receives the smoking wave;
> And in the bath prepared my limbs I lave.

But in order to understand who the Homeric Circe is, it is necessary to observe, that the ancient theologists, when they represent divine natures, as employed in the exercise of certain arts, meant to insinuate by such arts *producing, prolific, intellectual*, and *perfective* powers, which proceed from the gods into the universe; all the parts of which are nothing more than illuminations of these powers. This being premised, "Circe (says Proclus in his Scholia on the Cratylus) is that divine power which weaves all the life contained in the four elements, and at the same time by her song harmonizes the whole sublunary world. But the shuttle with which she weaves, is represented by theologists as golden, because her essence is intellectual,

pure, immaterial, and unmingled with generation; all which is signified by the shuttle being *golden*. And her employment consists in *separating** things stable from such as are in motion, according to divine diversity." I only add, that Homer with great propriety represents Circe, who presides over the sublunary world, or the realms of generation, as waited on by Nymphs sprung from fountains: for Nymphs, says Hermias (Comment. MS. in Plat. Phædrum), are goddesses presiding over regeneration, and are the attendants of Bacchus the son of Semele. On this account they are present with water; that is, they ascend as it were into, and rule over generation. But this Dionysius or Bacchus supplies the regeneration of every sensible nature. Νυμφαι δε εισιν εφοροι θεαι της παλιγγενεσιας ὑπουργοι του εκ Σεμελης Διονυσου, διο και παρα τῳ υδατι εισι, τουτ' εστι τῃ γενεσει επιβεβηκασι. ουτος δε ο Διονυσος της παλιγγενεσιας ὑπαρχει πανσος του αισθητου.

Page 52. *For a key belongs to Pluto.*] Pluto is a deity of a guardian characteristic; and of this a key is a very proper symbol. But the following beautiful account of this divinity, from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, will, I doubt not, be highly acceptable to the truly liberal reader: "Pluto is an intellectual demiurgic god, who frees souls from generation. For our whole period receiving a triple division, into a life under the dominion of Jupiter, which is prior to generation, into a life under the dominion of Neptune, and which is in generation, and into a life posterior to generation, and which is under Pluto; hence Pluto, who is characterized according to intellect, with great propriety converts ends to beginnings, forming a circle without a beginning or an end, not only in souls, but in bodies. Thus for instance, he eternally evolves the circulations of the stars, the motions of things in generation, and the like. But some erroneously analyse the name of *Pluto* into *wealth from the earth, through* fruits and metals; and of *Aides*† into the *obscure, dark,* and *terrible*. These are now censured by Socrates, who assigns the same meaning to these two names; referring *Pluto,* as in-

* For the shuttle is a symbol of *separating power.*

† One of Pluto's names.

tellect, to *the wealth of prudence*, and *Aides* to *an intellect which knows all things*. For this god is a sophist*, who purifies souls after death, and frees them from generation. For *Aides*, or, *the obscure*, is not, as some erroneously interpret it, evil; since neither is death an evil, though *Aides* appears to some to be full of perturbation. But every thing intelligible is *obscure*; and in this sense *Aides* is better than every visible nature. The lovers of body, however, who viciously refer the passions of the animated part to themselves, consider death as something terrible, and as the cause of corruption: but in reality it is much better for a man to die, and live in Hades according to nature, than to live with body contrary to nature, and prevented from energizing intellectually. Hence, it is necessary to strip ourselves of the flesh† with which we are invested, as Ulysses did of his torn garments, and not, together with the indigence of body, clothe ourselves with that which resembles the vestment of a mendicant. "*For* (as the Oracle says) *things divine cannot be obtained by those whose intellectual eye is directed to body; but those only can arrive at the possession of them, who, stript of their garments, hasten to the summit.*"

Page 55. *You will see elegies inscribed on the rest.*] Pausanias frequently uses the word ελεγειον *elegy*, in the same sense as επιγραμμα, *an epigram* or *inscription*. It appears, therefore, that this word has a more extended sense than it is generally known to have. Hence, in conformity to the original, I have here and elsewhere used the word *elegies* as synonymous with *inscriptions*. Whether or not this sense of the word has been noticed by any lexicographer, I am not certain: it is not noticed by either Suidas or Hesychius.

Page 61. *And its right hand thunder.*] As Jupiter is the *Demiurgus*, or *artificer of the universe*, his statue very properly holds thunder in one of its hands: for thunder, as we learn from Proclus, is a symbol of fabrication, proceeding through and vivifying all things, without injuring the purity of its nature.

* The reader must be careful to consider the word Sophist in this place in its primary sense, viz. *one wise and learned*.

† *i. e.* We must purify ourselves from a tendency to body.

Page 64. *Jupiter Laoetas.*] i. e. *The god of the people.*

Page 65. *Homer, indeed, relates, &c.*] The passages of Homer, alluded to by Pausanias, are in Iliad 20, ver. 233, and Iliad 5, ver. 268, &c. The former of these passages may be thus translated:

> Fairest of mortals, Ganymede divine,
> Who for his beauty by the gods was snatch'd
> From earth to heaven, that he might bear the cup
> Of Jove, and with the blest immortals dwell.

The latter is thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> Swift to Æneas' empty seat proceed,
> And seize the coursers of ethereal breed:
> The race of those, which once the thundering god
> For ravish'd Ganymede on Tros bestow'd,
> The best that e'er on earth's broad surface run,
> Beneath the rising or the setting sun.

But Ganymedes is the image of a man who leads an immaterial and intellectual life, instead of one wholly conversant with body and sense. Hence he is said to be the cup-bearer of Jupiter, because such a man co-operates in a ministrant degree with the immutable providential energies of that deity. For nectar, which is the drink of the gods, signifies the exertion of immutable providence, and its procession to the extremity of things. The truth of this is beautifully though obscurely signified by Homer in the following lines, which form the beginning of the fourth book of the Iliad:

> Οι δε θεοι παρ Ζηνι καθημενοι ηγορωνδε
> Χρυσειω εν δαπεδω, μετα δε σφισι ποτνια Ηβη
> Νεκταρ ειροχοει· τοι δε χρυσειοις δεπαεσσι
> Δειδεχαθ' αλληλους, Τρωων πολιν εισορωωντες.

i. e.

> "Now with each other on the golden floor
> Seated near Jove, the gods converse, to whom
> The venerable Hebe nectar bears
> In golden goblets, and as these flow round
> Th' immortals turn their careful eyes on Troy."

For here their possession of immutable providence is signified by their drinking nectar; the exertion of this providence, by their beholding Troy; and their communicating with each other in providential energies, by receiving the goblets from each other.

Page 66. *Homer.*] Iliad 19, ver. 266.

Page 68. *Hippias.*] The reader who wishes to see the arrogance of this sophist humbled in the most masterly manner, will find his wishes amply gratified, if he possesses any taste, by reading the Greater Hippias of Plato, of which there is an excellent translation by Mr. Sydenham.

Page 69. *They say that this bird is sacred to the sun.*] "There are many solar animals, such as lions and *cocks*, which participate of a certain solar divinity, according to their nature; from whence it is wonderful to see how much inferiors in the same order yield to such as are superior, though they do not yield to them in magnitude and strength. Hence they say that a cock is very much feared, and as it were reverenced by a lion; the reason of which we can never assign from matter or sense, but from the contemplation alone of a supernal order. For from hence we shall learn, that the properties of the sun are more abundantly received by the cock than the lion. And the truth of this is evinced from hence, that the cock celebrates, and as it were invokes the rising sun, by his crowing, as if with certain hymns, when that luminary bends his course from the antipodes to us; and that sometimes solar angels appear in forms of this kind; and though they are in themselves without form, yet they appear with it, to us who are connected with figure. Sometimes, too, solar dæmons are seen with a leonine front, who suddenly disappear when a cock is placed before them. The reason of this is, because, in the same order, inferiors always reverence their superiors; just as the greater part of those that behold the images of divine men, are by the very aspect of these images terrified from perpetrating any thing base."—Proclus De Magia.

Page 71. *Herodotus.*] Lib. vii.

Page 73. *For the Lydians who are called Persic.*] Kuhnius

observes that the Persic Lydians were denominated from the Persian sacred rites pertaining to Mithras, which rites principally flourished in the Lydian cities Hierocæsarea and Hypæpa.

Page 73. *A magician entering into this cell, &c.*] The following curious account of magical incantation, from a very rare Greek MS. of Psellus, *On Dæmons, according to the Dogmata of the Greeks*, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to the reader, as it elucidates the passage of Pausanias before us, and shows that magic is not an empty name, but possesses a real power, though at present this art seems to be totally lost. η γοητεια δε εστι τεχνη τις περι τους ενυλους και χθονιους δαιμονας φανταση σκοπουσα τοις εποπταις τα τουτων ειδωλα. και τους μεν ωσπερ εξ αδου αναγουσα, τους δε υψοθεν καταγουσα, και τουτους κακωτικους. και ειδωλα ατια υφιστησι φανταστικα τοις θεωροις των τουτων. και τοις μεν ρευματα τινα εκειθεν κυματινοντα επαφιησι· τοις δε δεσμων ανεσεις και τυφας, και χαριτας επαγγελλεται. επαγεται δε τας τοιαυτας δυναμεις, και ασμασι και επασμασιν. η δε γε μαγεια πολυδυναμον τι χρημα τοις Ελλησιν εδοξε. μεριδα γουν ειναι ταυτην φασιν εσχατην της ιερατικης επιστημης. ανιχνευουσα γαρ των υπο την σεληνην παντων την τε ουσαν και φυσιν, και δυναμιν και ποιοτητα. λεγω δε στοιχειων και των τουτων μεριδων, ζωων, πανοδαπων φυτων, και των ενταυθα καρπων, λιθων, βοτανων, και απλως ειπειν, παντος πραγματος, υποστασιν τε και δυναμιν. ενταυθα αρα τα εαυτης εργαζεται. αγαλματα τε υφιστησιν υγιας περιποιητικα, και σχηματα ποιειται πανοδαπα· και νοσοποια δημιουργηματα εξεργα. και αετοι μεν, και δρακοντες, βιωσιμοι αυτοις προς υγιειαν υποθεσις, αιλουροι δε και κυνες, και κορακες αγρυπνητικα συμβολα. κηρος δε και πηλος εις τας των μοριων συμπλασεις παραλαμβανονται. φανταζει δε πολλακις, και πυρος ουρανιου ενδοσεις, και διαμειδιωσι επι τουτων αγαλματα· πυρι δε αυτο μαλω λαμπαδες αναπτονται. That is, "*Goeteia*, or *witchcraft*, is a certain art respecting material and terrestrial dæmons, whose images it causes to become visible to the spectators of this art. And some of these dæmons it leads up, as it were, from Hades; but others it draws down from on high; and these, too, such as are of an evil species. *This art, therefore, causes certain fantastic images to appear before the spectators.* And

before the eyes of some, indeed, it pours exuberant streams: but to others it promises freedom from bonds, delicacies, and favours. They draw down, too, powers of this kind by songs and incantations. But *Magic*, according to the Greeks, is a thing of a very powerful nature. *For they say that this forms the last part of the sacerdotal science.* "Magic, indeed, investigates the nature, power, and quality of every thing sublunary; viz. of the elements and their parts, of animals, all-various plants and their fruits, of stones, and herbs: and in short it explores the essence and power of every thing. From hence, therefore, it produces its effects. And it forms statues which procure health, makes all-various figures, and things which become the instruments of disease. It asserts, too, that eagles and dragons contribute to health; but that cats, dogs, and crows are symbols of vigilance, to which therefore they contribute. But for the fashioning of certain parts, wax and clay are used. Often, too, celestial fire is made to appear through magic: and then statues laugh, and lamps are spontaneously enkindled."

This curious passage throws light on the following from the first book of the Metamorphoses of Apuleius: "Magico susurramine, amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum colligari, ventos inanimes expirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri." That is, "By magical incantation, rapid rivers may be made to run back to their fountains, the sea be congealed, winds become destitute of spirit, the sun be held back in his course, the moon be forced to purge away her foam, the stars be torn from their orbits, the day be taken away, and the night be detained." For it may be inferred from Psellus, that witches formerly were able to cause *the appearance* of all this to take place. I only add, that this MS. of Psellus *On Dæmons* forms no part of his treatise *On the Energy of Dæmons*, published by Gaulminus; for it never was published.

Page 79. *Pindar.*] In his 6th Olympic ode, where Iamus is said to have been the son of Apollo and Euadne.

Page 89. *Homer.*] The passage of Homer, alluded to by

Pausanias, is Iliad 6, v. 407, in which Andromache says to Hector,

"O man divine, thy strength will be thy bane."

Page 120. *Then follows Gorgias the Leontine.*] Of this Gorgias Plato thus speaks in the Phædrus: "But shall we suffer Lysias and Gorgias to sleep, who placed probabilities before realities; and, through the strength of their discourse, caused small things to appear large, and the large small; likewise old things new, and the new old; and who besides this discovered a concise method of speaking, and again an infinite prolixity of words?"

Page 126. *Elaphias.*] The reader is desired to read *Elaphios.* This word signifies *March.*

Page 127. *The child became a dragon.*] This dragon must have been one of those dæmons κατα σχεσιν, or *according to habitude*, of whom we have made mention in a former note: for these are capable of assuming a variety of shapes, whereas *essential* dæmons retain the same shape immutably.

Page 130. *Wild beasts followed Orpheus, and stones came to Amphion.*] Nothing more perhaps is meant by this fable, than that Orpheus and Amphion by their great *wisdom* civilized men of a stubborn, intractable, and rustic disposition, and accomplished this by persuading them to build cities, and pay obedience to equitable laws. For *philosophy*, or the whole of *human wisdom*, is, as Plato beautifully observes in the Phædo, *the greatest music.*

Page 135. *Homer.*] Iliad 5, ver. 545.

Page 136. *With which she was accustomed to be present.*] In my Dissertation on the Eleusinian Mysteries, I have demonstratively shown that the most sublime part of εποπτεια, or *inspection*, in these mysteries consisted in beholding the gods themselves invested with a resplendent light. It appears from the present passage, that in the mysteries of Diana that goddess was rendered visible to the eyes of the initiated; and in the following passage from Proclus (in Plat. Repub. p. 380) we learn that the gods were seen in all mysteries. εν απασι ταις τελεταις

και τοις μυστηριοις, οι θεοι πολλας μεν εαυτων προτεινουσι μορφας, πολλα δε σχηματα εξαλλαττοντες φαινονται. και τοτε μεν ατυπωτον αυτων προβεβληται φως, τοτε δε εις ανθρωπειον μορφην εσχηματισμενον, τοτε δε εις αλλοιον τυπων προεληλυθως. *i. e.* "In all mystic sacrifices and mysteries, the gods exhibit many forms of themselves, and appear in a variety of shapes: and sometimes, indeed, an unfigured light of themselves is held forth to the view; sometimes this light is figured according to a human form, and sometimes it proceeds into a different shape." The beginning, too, of Callimachus's hymn to Apollo plainly shows that Apollo was beheld in his mysteries:

Οιον ὁ τω Ἀπολλωνος εσεισατο δαφνινος ορπηξ,
Οια δ' ολον το μελαθρον. εκας, εκας οστις αλιτρης.
Και δη του τα θυριτρα καλω ποδι Φοιβος αρασσει.
Ουχ οραας; επεσευσεν ὁ Δηλιος ηδυ τι φοινιξ
Εξαπινης, ὁ δε κυκνος εν ηερι καλον ασιδει.
Αυτοι νυν κατοχης αγακλισιθε πυλαων,
Αυται δε κλισιες· ὁ γαρ θεος ηκετι μακραν.
Οι δε νεοι μολπην τε και ες χορον εντυνεσθε.
Ω Ἀπολλων ου παντι φαεινεται, αλλ' ὁ, τις εσθλος.
Ος μιν ιδη, μεγας ουτος, ος ουκ ιδε, λιτος εκεινος.
Ομμιθ' ω εκατηβολε, και εσσομενος ὑποδε λιτοι.
Μητε σιωπηλην κιθαριν, μητ' αφαρον ιχνος
Του Φοιβου τους παιδας εχειν επιδημησαντος.

These lines are thus elegantly translated by Dr. Dodd:

See how the laurel's hallow'd branches wave!
Hark! sounds tumultuous shake the trembling cave!
Far, ye profane! far off!—*With beauteous feet*
Bright Phœbus comes, and thunders at the gate;
See! the glad sign the Delian palm hath given;
Sudden it bends: and, hovering in the heaven,
Soft sings the swan with melody divine:
Burst ope, ye bars! ye gates, your heads decline!
Decline your heads! ye sacred doors, expand!
He comes! the god of light! the god's at hand!
Begin the song; and tread the sacred ground
In mystic dance symphonious to the sound.
Begin, young men! Apollo's eyes endure
None but the good, the perfect, and the pure.

Who view the god are great: but abject they
From whom he turns his favouring eyes away;
All-piercing god! in every place confess'd,
We will prepare, behold thee, and be bless'd;
He comes, young men! nor silent should ye stand
With harp or feet, when Phœbus is at hand.

So likewise Virgil, in his 4th Æneid, describes this επιδημια, or advent of Apollo:

As when from Lycia, bound in wintry frost,
Where Xanthus' streams enrich the smiling coast,
The beauteous Phœbus in high pomp retires,
And hears in Delos the triumphant choirs,
The Cretan crowds and Dryopes advance,
And painted Scythians round his altars dance;
Fair wreaths of vivid rays his head infold,
His locks bound backward, and adorn'd with gold:
The god majestic moves o'er Cynthus' brows,
His golden quiver rattling as he goes.

PITT.

The adytum, too, of temples was the place in which the divinities appeared to the eyes of such as were properly prepared for so transcendent a vision, as the following passage from Plotinus evinces (Ennead. 9, lib. ix. p. 770.)—ὡσπερ τις εις το εισω του αδυτου, εις τελπισω καταλιπων τα εν τῳ ναῳ αγαλματα, ἃ εξελθοντι του αδυτου παλιν γινεται πρωτα μετα το ενδον θεαμα, και την εκει συνουσιαν, προς ουκ αγαλμα, αδ' εικονα, αλλ' αυτο. *i. e.* "Just as one who having entered into the most interior parts of the adytum of a temple, leaves all the statues in the temple behind him (which on his departure from the adytum will first present themselves to his view after the inward spectacle), and then associates not with a statue or an image, but *with the thing itself*; viz. with a divine nature." From all which the truth of what Psellus asserts, in the passage already cited from his book On Dæmons, "*that magic formed the last part of the sacerdotal office among the Greeks,*" is, I presume, perfectly apparent.

Page 141. *That of the moon has horns on its head.*] These horns were doubtless those of a bull. For the moon, in the

Orphic hymn to her, is called *bull-horned;* and Porphyry De Antro Nymph. informs us, that the ancient priests of Ceres called the moon, who is the queen of generation, *a bull.*

Page 142. *Homer.*] Iliad 5, ver. 395. It is remarkable that not one of the translators of Homer has noticed the manner in which the Eleans understood the ἐν πυλῳ in one of these lines. For by the Latin translators it is rendered ad portam *inferorum*, i. e. *at the* gate of the infernal regions; and the English have followed the Latin translators. However, as the ancients must be supposed to have understood the meaning of particular words in Homer better than the moderns, there can be no doubt but that the Eleans were right when they considered ἐν πυλῳ as signifying *in Pylus.*

Page 143. *Corybas.*] We are informed by the emperor Julian in his Oration to the Mother of the Gods, that *Corybas* is *the Sun.*

Page 144. *There is a cock on the helmet of the goddess.*] The true reason, perhaps why Phidias placed a cock on the helmet of Minerva is, because this goddess, as we have shown in a former note, was called by the ancients *Health;* and a cock is sacred to Æsculapius, who is *the god of health.*

Page 144. *Homer.*] Iliad 15, ver. 528.

Page 145. *Is an erect penis on a basis.*] The reason why Mercury was represented by the ancients in this manner, is, as it appears to me, because this deity unfolds truth and intellectual light, from its occult subsistence in the essence of the gods; just as that prolific power which is latent in seed is unfolded by the penis.

Page 148. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, ver. 576.

Page 157. *Homer.*] Lib. xviii. near the end, in the description of the shield of Achilles.

Page 159. *It is an accurate representation of an Ægyptian statue.*] We are informed by Porphyry de Antro Nymph. that the Ægyptians placed all *dæmons*, not connected with any thing solid or stable, but raised on a sailing vessel. By this they doubtless intended to signify the connexion of these powers with

the flowing realms of generation. And hence we may infer that the statue mentioned in this place by Pausanias was an image of a *dæmoniacal* Minerva.

Page 177. *A fire there is than other fires more fierce.*] Kuhnius observes, that this proverb is mentioned by Plutarch, in his Life of Demetrius; by Homer, Odyssey 19, and by Aristophanes in Equit.

Page 190. *When he says, &c.*] Plato speaks to this effect in the 5th book of his Republic.

Page 191. *The mother Dindymene and Attes.*] Dindymene signifies *Cybele,* or *the mother of the gods.* But the fable respecting this goddess and Attes, or rather Attis (for so it is written by Harpocration, Suidas, the emperor Julian, and the philosopher Sallust), is beautifully unfolded by Sallust in his golden treatise *On the Gods and the World,* chap. 4, as follows: "It is said that the mother of the gods, perceiving Attis by the river Gallus, became in love with him: and having placed on him a starry hat, lived afterwards with him in intimate familiarity: but Attis falling in love with a nymph, deserted the mother of the gods, and entered into association with the nymph. Through this the mother of the gods caused Attis to become insane, who, cutting off his genital parts, left them with the nymph, and then returned again to his pristine connexion with the goddess.

"The mother of the gods, then, is the vivific goddess, and on this account is called mother; but Attis is the demiurgus of natures conversant with generation and corruption; and hence he is said to have been found by the river Gallus, for Gallus denotes the Galaxy, or milky circle, from which a passive body descends to the earth. But since primary gods perfect such as are secondary, the mother of the gods falling in love with Attis imparts to him celestial powers; for this is the meaning of the starry hat. But Attis loves a nymph, and nymphs preside over generation; for every thing in generation flows. But because it is necessary that the flowing nature of generation should be stopped, lest something worse than things last should be pro-

duced; in order to accomplish this, the demiurgus of generable and corruptible natures, sending prolific powers into the realms of generation, is again conjoined with the gods.

"But these things, indeed, never took place at any particular time, because they have a perpetuity of subsistence: and intellect contemplates all things as subsisting together; but discourse considers this thing as first, and that as second, in the order of existence." For a further explanation of this fable, which being of the mixed species, belongs, as we are informed by Sallust, to *mystic sacrifices*, see my translation of the emperor Julian's *Oration to the Mother of the Gods.*

Page 200. *Homer.*] Iliad 21, ver. 446. The reader must carefully observe, that the Neptune and Apollo mentioned in these verses were *heroes*, and not *gods*. With respect to the statue of Apollo standing on the skull of an ox, the meaning of this will be apparent from considering, that as the moon (as we have already shown from Porphyry) is *the queen of generation*, Apollo, or the sun, who is paternally all that the moon is maternally, must be *the king of generation*, of which a bull or an ox is a symbol. Hence his treading on the *head* of an ox signifies his dominion over the *realms* of generation, and particularly over its *summit, æther.*

Page 202. *The Oracle in Dodona.*] Jupiter's oracle at Dodona was the most ancient of all the oracles of Greece prior to the Flood, and was restored by Deucalion after it. The Scholiast upon the 16th Iliad, v. 233, &c. informs us from a very ancient author, *Thrasybulus*, that Deucalion, after the Flood, which happened in his time, having got safe upon the firm land of Epirus, prophesied in an oak; and by the admonition of an oraculous dove having gathered together such as were saved from the flood, caused them to dwell together in a certain place or country, which from *Jupiter*, and *Dodona*, one of the *Oceanides*, they called *Dodona*. At Dodona, there were brazen kettles, which it is said were so artificially placed about the temple, that by striking one of them the sound was communicated to all the rest. According to Menander, if a man touched them but once they would continue ringing the whole day.

But it appears to me, that the reason why brass was dedicated in particular to Dodonean Jupiter, is because this deity subsists according to a terrestrial characteristic; and brass, as we learn from Proclus, is a symbol of a resisting solid, or of earth. For earth receives the illuminations of all the gods. "And hence (says Proclus in Tim. p. 282) there are a terrestrial Ceres, Vesta, and Isis, as likewise *a terrestrial Jupiter* and a terrestrial Hermes, established about the one divinity of the earth; just as a multitude of celestial gods proceeds about the one divinity of the heavens. *For there are progressions of all the celestial gods into the earth; and earth contains all things in an earthly manner, which heaven comprehends celestially.* Hence we speak of a terrestrial Bacchus and a terrestrial Apollo, who bestows the all-various streams of water with which the earth abounds, and openings prophetic of futurity." Brass, indeed, was employed by the ancients, as we learn from the Scholiast on Theocritus (Eidyl. 2), in all consecrations and expiations, because they considered it as something pure, and endued with a power of expelling pollutions. And Eustathius upon this line in the 18th book of the Iliad,

εκ ποντοιο Θυραζε λινῳ και ηνοπι χαλκῳ—

i. e.

Forth from the deep with line and *vocal brass*—

observes, "that Homer makes use of the word ηνοπα, that is ενοπα, which signifies *vocal*, because brass is the only inanimate substance which seems to have a voice. And *the Pythagoreans say, that brass accords with every diviner spirit;* and hence a tripod formed from this metal is dedicated to Apollo. Often, too, when the air is perfectly tranquil, and every thing else is still, hollow kettles will appear to be as it were shaken.—ηνοπα λεγει τον ενοπα, ο εστι εμφωνον, μονος γαρ των αψυχων δοκει φωνην εχειν. και ὅ. Πυθαγορικοι φασι τον χαλκον παντι συνηχειν θειοτερῳ πνευματι, διο και τῳ Απολλωνι τριπους τοιουτος ανακειται. και εν ηνεμιᾳ δε Πλλακις των αλλων ατρεμουντων, σειομενοις εοικε τα κοιλα χαλκωματα. But Hermias the philosopher, in his MS. Commentary on the Phædrus of Plato, gives us the following

satisfactory information respecting the oracle in Dodona. The reader who is desirous of seeing the original of this passage, may find it in page 11 of the Collection of Oracles by Opsopoeus. "Different accounts are given of the Dodonean oracle; for it is the most ancient of the Grecian oracles. According to some, an oak prophesied in Dodona; but according to others, doves. The truth, however, is, that priestesses whose heads were crowned with oak prophesied; and these women were called by some *peleiades*, or *doves*. Perhaps, therefore, certain persons being deceived by the name, suspected that doves prophesied in Dodona; and as the heads of these women were crowned with oak, perhaps from this circumstance they said that an oak prophesied. But this oracle belongs to Jupiter, and that in Delphos to Apollo. With great propriety, therefore, are these oracles considered as allied to each other. For Apollo is said to be the assistant of Jupiter in the administration of things: and often when the Dodonean oracle appeared to be obscure, the oracle in Delphos has been consulted, in order to know the meaning of that of Jupiter. Often, too, Apollo has interpreted many of the Dodonean oracles. Priestesses, therefore, when in an enthusiastic and prophetic condition, have greatly benefited mankind by predicting and previously correcting future events; but when in a prudent state, they were similar to other women."

Page 203. *Homer.*] Iliad 23, ver. 584.

Page 208. *One of the nymphs belonging to the sea fell in love with him.*] We have shown in a former note, that the last order of powers that are the perpetual attendants of the gods, and the proximate guardians of mortal natures, has a great sympathy with the objects of its care. It is not at all improbable, therefore, that a nymph of the sea was connected with Selemus, who, when he died, attracted to himself, through intemperate desire, a vehicle perfectly humid, by which he became bound as it were to a certain stream, and was therefore said to have been changed into a river by Venus.

Page 209. *He cut off the genitals of his father Heaven.*] The authors of fables invented images of divine concerns in imitation

of Nature, who shadows forth by parts things destitute of all parts, by temporal eternal natures, by dimensions things void of quantity, by sensibles intelligibles, and so on. For these divine men, *by preternatural concerns adumbrated the transcendent nature of the gods; by such as are irrational, a power more divine than all reason; and by things apparently base, incorporeal beauty.* Hence, in the fable alluded to in this place by Pausanias, we must consider *the genital parts* as symbols of *prolific power;* and *the castration of these parts,* as signifying *the progression of this power into a subject order.* So that the fable means, that the prolific powers of *Heaven* are called forth into progression by *Saturn,* who is a deity of an inferior order. The utility arising from fables of this kind, to such as properly understand them, is very great. For they call forth our *unperverted* conceptions of divine natures, give a greater perfection to the divine part of our soul, through its sympathy with mystic concerns, heal the maladies of our phantasy, and elevate it in conjunction with our rational part to supernal light.

Page 213. *Earthquakes.*] *Earthquakes, war, pestilence, famine,* and other contingencies, are employed by divinity as the lesser means of purifying parts of the earth: the greater means are *deluges* and *conflagrations.*

Page 217. *Homer.*] Iliad 8, ver. 203.

Page 221. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, ver. 574.

Page 227. *For at that time, men were guests of the gods.*] That is, they led a divine and intellectual life, as belonging to the golden race.

Page 230. *Homer.*] Odyss. 5, ver. 272.

Page 231. *For the Arcadians call their Naiades, Dryades and Epimeliades.* Servius, on the first Æneid, distributes Nymphs into these classes: *Nymphs belonging to mountains are called Oreades; to woods, Dryades; those that are born with woods, Hamadryades; those that belong to fountains, Napæ, or Naiades; and those that belong to the sea, Nereides.* The Naiades are mentioned by Homer, Odyss. 13, ver. 104. For an account of these prefects of fountains, I refer the reader to my translation of Porphyry's treatise *On the Cave of the Nymphs.*

Page 237. *Venus Melanis, or, the black.*] There can be no doubt but that *Celestial Venus* is signified by this epithet, and that she was thus denominated because she proceeds from the goddess *Night.* For she proceeds, as we have shown in a former note, from the containing power of Heaven, which according to the Orphic theology is profoundly united with Night. Hence, Night in the Orphic hymn to her is called Κυπρις, *Cypris,* i. e. *Venus.*

Page 240. *But the goddess told Saturn that she had brought forth a colt, &c.*] The secret meaning of these two divine fables respecting Jupiter and Neptune appears to me to be as follows: Saturn, who is an intellectual god, as we have before observed, establishes in himself *the cause of motive vigour;* and through this *Neptune* acquires the perfection of his nature. For *a horse,* as we have shown in a former note, is an image of *motive vigour;* and *Neptune* is a deity who *evocates things into progression.* And this is the meaning of Saturn swallowing a *colt,* while Neptune was privately taken away in order to be *reared.* In like manner, while Saturn establishes in himself *the cause of an abiding energy, Jupiter* advances to perfection; because *Jupiter subsists according to a vitally-abiding characteristic.* Hence Homer represents Jupiter established in himself, while the multitude of gods that proceed from him, at one time abide with their parent, and at another proceed into the universe, and providentially energize about mundane affairs. And this appears to be the meaning of the other fable. Pausanias, therefore, is very right in conjecturing that these fables respecting Saturn contain something of the wisdom of the Greeks; for they are indeed replete with the sublimest wisdom, as the intelligent reader will easily perceive.

Page 241. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, v. 231, and Iliad 12, v. 202, &c.

Page 263. *Hesiod, indeed, in his Theogony, makes mention of Styx.*] The lines alluded to in the Theogony are 383, &c. It appears to me that *Styx,* considered according to its first subsistence, is the cause by which divine natures retain an immutable sameness of essence. It is somewhat strange that Pausanias

should be dubious whether Hesiod composed the Theogony, when it is cited as the production of Hesiod by Plato and Aristotle.

Page 263. *Homer.*] The passage respecting the oath of Juno is Iliad 15, v. 36; concerning Titaresius, Iliad 2, v. 755; and concerning the preservation of Hercules by Minerva, Iliad 4, v. 366.

Page 267. *Homer.*] Homer, in the eleventh Iliad, uses the word Ειλειθυιαι, i. e. *Lucinæ.*

Page 268. *That she is the same with Pepromene, or Fate.*] Pindar, in his seventh Nemean Ode, says that Lucina is the assessor of the Fates: and this is agreeable to the doctrine in the Orphic hymns. For the moon, or Diana, is according to these hymns the same with Lucina: and in the hymn to Nature, which, as we have before shown, principally flourishes in the moon, that goddess is expressly called Pepromene.

Page 276. *Homer.*] Iliad 24, v. 527.

By the two vessels placed by the throne of Jupiter, out of which he distributes good and evil to mankind, we must understand the two primary causes of good and evil to souls, which subsist in the intellect of Jupiter. I only add, that a *truly* worthy man may be *truly* happy in the present life; and for a demonstration of this important truth, I refer the reader to my translation of *Plotinus on Felicity.*

Page 278. *From the Iliad.*] Lib. xxiii. v. 346.

Nothing can be more absurd than the fable which these verses allude to, if it is considered according to its literal meaning, at the same time that it is extremely beautiful when properly understood. In order, therefore, to understand its secret meaning, it is necessary to remind the reader of what I have before observed, that the processions of a divine nature to the extremity of things, according to different orders and degrees, were symbolically called by ancient theologists mutations. Hence, by Neptune and Ceres changing themselves, the former into a horse, and the latter into a mare, and from connexion with each other begetting the horse Arion, nothing more is meant than that a

dæmoniacal Neptune and a dæmoniacal Ceres co-operated with the natural causes by which this animal was produced, in begetting him.

Page 278. *Antimachus.*] This Greek poet was a Colophonian. He wrote on the age and country of Homer; and, according to Plutarch, contended that Homer was his countryman.

Page 279. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, v. 607.

Page 287. *Minerva in the form of Melas.*] By Minerva here, we must understand a dæmoniacal power, belonging to the goddess Minerva, but of the lowest order.

Page 288. *The battle between the giants and the gods, &c.*] By giants in the fable alluded to here by Pausanias, ancient theologists occultly signified the last order of dæmoniacal powers, who, on account of their proximity to the natures over which they preside, and adhering to matter, contract contrariety, and an all-various division; who, besides this, partially preside over material affairs, and diminish and disperse those separate powers which subsist uniformly and indivisibly in their primitive causes. Hence, as the gods operate uniformly, indivisibly, and with perfect impassivity, but these dæmoniacal powers, multifariously, divisibly, and with passivity, this *opposition* between gods and dæmons was beautifully called by the ancient authors of fables, a *battle*. See this interesting particular more fully unfolded from Proclus, p. 157, &c. of my Translation of the Orphic Hymns.

Page 288. *Homer in the Odyssey.*] Book x. ver. 120. The speech of the Phæacian king is in Odyssey 7, ver. 204. We have before observed, that the Odyssey is an allegorical poem: and if this be the case, there can be no doubt but that the Phæacians, Cyclops, and *the race of giants*, mentioned in the seventh book, are all beings superior to the human species.

Page 302. *If, indeed, the gods are the sources of good to mankind.*] The gods must necessarily be the sources of good, because *goodness* constitutes their very essence; so that every thing proceeding from them (and all things are their offspring) is naturally indued with the form of good. I only add, that Jupiter is not the supreme god, though Pausanias seems to

think he is, as the reader may be convinced by perusing my Notes on the Cratylus of Plato.

Page 305. *The verses about them are in the oath of Juno.*] *i. e.* in Iliad 14, ver. 278. The Titans are the ultimate artificers of things; and their monad is Bacchus.

Page 313. *Homer.*] Iliad 1, ver. 314.

Page 314. *Homer.*] Iliad 18, ver. 398, &c. In these lines, Eurynome is called the daughter of Ocean. And the Scholiast on the Cassandra of Lycophron says that Ophion and Eurynome the daughter of Ocean reigned among the gods called Titans, prior to Saturn and Rhea; but that Saturn and Rhea vanquished in wrestling Ophion and Eurynome, and having hurled them into Tartarus, invaded their kingdom. Boethius, too, upon Porphyry, (lib. 3) thus writes: "Quantum ad veteres theologos, refertur Jupiter ad Saturnum, Saturnus ad Cœlum, Cœlus ad antiquissimum Ophionem, cujus nullum est principium." That is, "According to ancient theologists, Jupiter is referred to Saturn, Saturn to Heaven, and Heaven to the most ancient *Ophion*, of whom there is no original." The Scholiast on the Prometheus of Æschylus says nearly the same. This most ancient god *Ophion* is therefore, as it appears to me, the same with the Orphic *dragon*, the original of all things: for *Ophion* is doubtless derived from *οφις ophis, a serpent.* But of this dragon, Damascius, in his treatise *περι αρχων, On Principles*, gives the following account: "I likewise find in the Orphic rhapsodies, that the theology neglecting the two first principles (viz. æther and chaos) together with the one principle who is delivered in silence (*i. e.* the first cause) establishes the third principle posterior to the two as the original; because this first of all possesses something effable and commensurate to human discourse. For in the former hypothesis, the highly reverenced and undecaying *Time*, the father of æther and chaos, was the principle: but in this *Time* is neglected, and the principle becomes a *dragon.*" See more from Damascius, on the most interesting of all subjects, in my Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato. I only add, that the Ophion with whom Eurynome is co-ordinate in the same manner as Rhea is with Saturn, must

be considered as a procession from the Ophion who is the same with the Orphic dragon.

Page 327. *Homer.*] Odyss. 6, v. 162, &c. These lines are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> Thus seems the palm with stately honours crown'd
> By Phœbus' altars; thus o'erlooks the ground;
> The pride of Delos.———

Page 341. *Homer.*] Odyss. lib. xi.

Page 341. *They say that Pan met Philippides.*] The Pan that met this Philippides was one of those dæmons καῖα σχεσιν, of whom we have given an account in a former note. Respecting this Pan, Proclus observes as follows in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum: Οἱι εισι και πανες τραγοσκελεις, οιος ην ο φανεις τῳ ημερῳ δρομῳ Φιλιππιδῃ, το παρθενιον διαμειβονἱι ορος. και Αθηναϊκαι ψυχαι σχημασι ποικιλοις χρωμεναι, και προσεχως ὑπερ τους ανθρωπους πολἱευομεναι· οια ην η Αθηνα η τῳ Οδυσσει και τῳ Τηλεμαχῳ φανεισα. οι δε πανικοι δαιμονες και οι Αθηναϊκοι, και πολλα πλεον αυἱοι οι θεοι απασης της τοιαυἱης ποικιλιας εξηρηνἱαι. That is, "There are Pans with the legs of goats, *such as was the Pan who, gently running along, appeared to Philippides as he was passing over the mountain Parthenius;* and souls belonging to Minerva, who change themselves into various forms, and proximately rule over mankind; such as was the Minerva who appeared to Ulysses and Telemachus. But Panic *dæmons, dæmons* belonging to Minerva, and much more the gods themselves, are exempt from all such variety."

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NOTES

ON THE

THIRD VOLUME.

PAGE 4. *That Actæon might be torn to pieces by his dogs.*] We have before shown, that a dog was considered by the ancients as the image of the discriminating and at the same time reproving power of the soul. And as Diana, or the moon, is the image of Nature, she signifies in this fable the natural life, which is divided about the bodies of all animals, and which is the cause to all bodies of augmentation, nutrition, and generation. As a stag, too, is a most lascivious animal, it must be considered as the image of a lascivious life. The meaning of the fable, therefore, appears to be this. Actæon beholds Diana *naked; i. e.* his rational soul converts itself to the natural life which is suspended from its essence, and which subsists in Actæon according to *a lascivious habit.* Hence, by a conversion of this kind, the soul becomes wholly changed into a lascivious life: and this is the meaning of Actæon being changed into a stag. But when this is the case, the rational soul becomes distributed by its discriminating power, considered according to its divisible subsistence in the senses; for the soul of such a one is wholly engrossed in sensible discrimination: and this is the meaning of Actæon being torn in pieces by his dogs.

Page 9. *He married Harmony, the daughter of Venus and Mars.*] We have shown in a former note, that by Cadmus is meant the sublunary world, or rather the deity of the sublunary world; and this being the case, there is great beauty in conjoining with him *Harmonia,* or *Harmony,* the daughter of Venus

and Mars. For Venus is the cause of all the harmony and analogy in the universe, and beautifully illuminates the order and communion of all mundane concerns. But Mars excites the contrarieties of the universe, that the world may exist perfect and entire from all its parts. The progeny, therefore, of these two divinities must be the *rerum concordia discors*, the *concordant discord*, or *harmony* of the sublunary world.

Page 10. *Homer.*] Odyss. 11, ver. 262.

Page 17. *Have seven gates.*] The names of these seven gates should be read as follows: *Electræ, Proetidæ, Neitæ, Crenææ, Hypsistæ, Ogygiæ, Omoloïdes.* Nonnus, lib. 5. Dionys. informs us, that these seven gates were raised agreeably to the number and order of the seven planets: so that the first gate was assigned to the Moon, the second to Mercury, the fourth to the Sun, under the appellation of Electra, a surname of Phaethon, the fifth to Mars, the third to Venus, the sixth to Jupiter, and the seventh to Saturn. By this is meant, that the properties of the seven planets are participated by the sublunary world. For as Cadmus is the deity of the sublunary region, the city Thebes, which he is said to have built, and in which, according to the fable, he resided, must be an image of the body of the sublunary world.

Page 24. *Pipes adapted to every kind of harmony.*] In one of my notes on the Cratylus of Plato, I have shown from a passage out of the MS. Commentary of Proclus on the first Alcibiades, that the ancients far excelled the moderns in the practical part of music. This passage I shall here transcribe, as a comment on the words of Pausanias before us. αι ορθαι πολιτειαι την αυλητικην απεστραφησαν. ουκουν ουδε ο πλατων αυτην παραδεχεται. το δε αιτιον, η ποικιλια του δε του οργανου του αυλου λεγω, ο και την τεχνην την χρωμενην αυτω απεφηνε φευκτον. και γαρ τα παναρμονια, και η πολυχορδια, μιμηται των αυλων εστιν. εκαστον γαρ τρυπημα των αυλων τριφθογγους ως φασι του ελαχιστα αφιησιν. ει δε και τα παραπτυπηματα των αυλων ανοιχθειη, πλειους, *i. e.* "Well-instituted polities reject the melody of the pipe; and on this account Plato does not admit it in his Republic. But the reason of this is the variety of this instrument, the pipe.

which evinces that the art employing it ought to be avoided. For *instruments producing every kind of harmony*, and that instrument which consists of many chords, are imitations of pipes; for every hole of the pipe emits (as they say) three sounds at least; but if the cavity above the holes of the pipe should be opened, then each hole would send forth more than three sounds." Olympiodorus, too, in MS. Comment. in Phædonem, observes as follows concerning this pipe. ο ποιητης τον αυλον δεδωκε τοις τρωσιν, ουδαμου δε τοις Ελλησιν. εμποδιον γαρ γινεται ου μονον τω διαλεγεσθαι, αλλα και τω ακουειν, και απλως παση λογικη ενεργεια ψυχης. διο και η Αθηνα η των Αθηναιων πολιουχος των διαλεγεσθαι μονον επισταμενων απερριψε τους αυλους. *i. e.* "The poet (Homer) gives pipes to the Trojans, but by no means to the Grecks. For the pipe is not only a hindrance to discourse, but to hearing, and in short to every rational energy of the soul. Hence Minerva *, who is the guardian deity of the Athenians, who alone know how to argue, threw away the pipes."

Page 33. *Homer.*] The verses alluded to are in Iliad 2, ver. 478, 479, and may be thus translated:

> His eyes and head resembling thundering Jove,
> Like Neptune was his breast, like Mars his *zone*.

Page 35. *The Iliad.*] Lib. 14, ver. 109.

Page 35. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, ver. 307, 310.

Page 39. *Homer.*] Odyss. 1, ver. 52, &c. Proclus on Hesiod, page 90, beautifully observes, concerning the pillars of Atlas, that they signify his being allotted powers which in an undeviating manner separate the heaven from the earth; so that the former revolves perpetually in an exempt manner about the latter; but earth being stably fixed in the middle, brings forth every thing maternally, which the heavens generate paternally." These pillars, therefore, are images of disterminating, and at the same time connecting powers, which by their efficacious vigour eternally prevents things on high from being confused with things below. Hence Atlas, who contains these powers,

* Alluding to the story of Marsyas and Apollo.

and who is one of the Tartarean gods about Bacchus, energizes not only according to a separating power, which is the characteristic of the Titans, but likewise according to a connecting power, which is the characteristic of Jupiter.

Page 47. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, ver. 502.

Page 49. *Cabiri.*] It appears to me, that the celestial twins are no other than the Curetes, according to their mundane subsistence.' For the first subsistence of the Curetes is, as we learn from Proclus, in that order of gods which is denominated by the Chaldæan theologists νοερος *intellectual*, and of which Saturn is the summit. Their next subsistence is among the *supermundane* gods, in which order they are called the *Corybantes*. And their third subsistence is doubtless that of *the twins*. For the Curetes in the Orphic hymns are celebrated as *the twins*. If this be the case, and the Cabiri are, according to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and Mercury, they cannot be the same with either the Curetes, Corybantes, or Dioscuri. For the Curetes, according to Proclus, are the guardian triad of the intellectual triad, Saturn, Rhea, and Jupiter, and he informs us that one of these Curetes is Minerva. The Corybantes, as we learn from the same author, are the guardians of the Coric triad, Diana, Proserpine, and Minerva. And as to the Dioscuri, or the twins, they are evidently different from the Cabiri mentioned by the Scholiast.

Page 51. *The Sphinx.*] The Sphinx, according to Lasus Hermioneus, was the daughter of Echidna and Typhon; and according to Clearchus, she had the head and hands of a virgin, the body of a dog, a human voice, the tail of a dragon, the claws of a lion, and the wings of a bird. But it appears to me that the ancients, by the Sphinx, designed to represent to us the nature of the *phantasy*. In order to be convinced of which, it is necessary to observe, that the rational soul, or the true man, consists of intellect, ratiocination (διανοια), and opinion; but the fictitious man, or the irrational soul, commences from the phantasy, under which desire and anger subsist. Hence the basis of the rational life is *opinion*, but the summit of the irrational life is *the phantasy*. But the phantasy, as Jamblichus

beautifully observes, grows upon, as it were, and fashions all the powers of the soul; exciting in opinion the illuminations from the senses, and fixing in that life which is extended with body the impressions which descend from intellect. Hence, says Proclus, it folds itself about the indivisibility of true intellect, conforms itself to all formless species, and becomes perfectly every thing, from which ratiocination and our indivisible reason consist.

This being the case, as the phantasy is all things passively which intellect is impassively (on which account Aristotle calls the phantasy passive intellect), hence the head of the Sphinx is human, but at the same time of the feminine sex; this sex being the image from its passivity of irrational life. By the Sphinx having the body of a dog, the discriminating power of the phantasy is implied: for a dog, as we have shown before, is the image of the discriminating power of the soul (το διακριτικον της ψυχης). By her having the tail of a dragon, and the claws of a lion, the communication of the phantasy with desire and anger is signified. And her wings are images of the elevating powers which the phantasy naturally possesses; for it is re-elevated, in conjunction with the returning soul, to the region every way resplendent with light. But the riddles of the Sphinx are images of the obscure and intricate nature of the phantasy. He, therefore, who is unable to solve the riddles of the Sphinx, *i. e.* who cannot comprehend the dark and perplexed nature of the phantasy, will be drawn into her embraces and torn in pieces; *i. e.* the phantasy in such a one will subject to its power the rational life, cause its indivisible energies to become divisible, and thus destroy as much as possible its very essence. But he who, like Œdipus, is able to solve the ænigmas of the Sphinx, or, in other words, to comprehend the dark essence of his phantasy, will, by illuminating its obscurity with the light of intellect, cause it, by becoming lucid throughout, to be no longer what it was before.

Hence we may see the propriety of the Ægyptians placing a Sphinx in the *vestibule* of the temple of Isis, who is the same with Minerva. For what the phantasy is in the microcosm

man, that æther is in the universe. But opinion may be called the vestibule of the rational soul, and the rational soul is as it were the temple of that intellectual illumination which proceeds from Minerva. In this vestibule, therefore, the phantasy is seated. And in a similar manner æther is seated in the vestibule of that divine soul, which is suspended from the deity of Minerva, and which may be called her temple. So that æther is the Sphinx of the universe.

Page 53. *Pamphus.*] Pamphus was an Athenian poet, contemporary with Linus, and is said to have composed poems and hymns prior to Homer.

Page 53. *That Chaos was first generated.*] In my Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato, I have shown that, in the opinion of all antiquity, γενεσθο, in the verse of Hesiod alluded to by Pausanias, was considered as meaning *was generated*, though in all the editions of Hesiod this word is translated *fuit*, as if the poet had said, that *Chaos was the first of all things*. I shall only add at present from Simplicius De Cœlo, p. 147, "that Hesiod, when he sings,

Chaos of all things was the first produced,

insinuates that there was something prior to Chaos, from which Chaos was produced. For it is always necessary that every thing which is generated should be generated from something. But this likewise is insinuated by Hesiod, that the first cause is above all knowledge and every appellation."

Page 57. *Mimnermus.*] Mimnermus was an elegiac poet of Colophon, and, according to Suidas, was the son of Ligyrtiades; but according to others he was a Smyrnæan. He flourished about the time of Solon, and besides elegies wrote on amatorial subjects, as we learn from Propertius and Horace. At present, however, nothing more than fragments of the works of this poet remain.

Page 57. *Linus.*] Linus, according to Suidas, was a poet of Chalcis, and the first that brought the knowledge of letters from Phœnicia to Greece. He taught Hercules letters, and is

said to have ranked as the prince of lyric poets. Two fragments are all the remains of his works at present.

Page 60. *That Orpheus was the son of the Muse Calliope.*] How this is to be understood the reader may learn by consulting the note on p. 43. of Vol. I. of this work. For an account of Orpheus, see the Dissertation prefixed to my Translation of the Orphic Hymns.

Page 62. *With respect to the hymns of Orpheus, &c.*] Fabricius and others are of opinion, that the Orphic hymns which are now extant are the very hymns mentioned in this place by Pausanias. But surely if this were the case, Pausanias would not say, *that the whole of the hymns of Orpheus does not amount to any considerable number*; for how can eighty-six, the number of the Orphic hymns now extant, be called an inconsiderable number?

Page 64. *They say that Narcissus beheld himself in this fountain, &c.*] The fable of Narcissus beautifully represents to us the condition of a soul converting itself to the phantasy (for this is the meaning of Narcissus hanging over the limpid stream), and in consequence of this becoming enamoured with a corporeal life; or that life which subsists in body, and which is nothing more than the delusive image of the true man, *i. e.* of the rational and immortal soul. Hence by an immoderate attachment to this unsubstantial mockery and gliding semblance of the real soul, such a one becomes at length wholly changed, as far as is possible to his nature, into a plantal condition of being, into a beautiful but transient flower; that is, into a corporeal life, or a life totally consisting in the mere energies of nature. So that Narcissus is the image of a soul converting herself to phantasy, and through this becoming drawn under the dominion of sense.

But it is here necessary to observe, that the death of Narcissus is related by Plotinus and the anonymous author De Incredibilibus in Gale's Opuscula, in a manner different from that of Ovid. For, according to them, Narcissus merged himself into the stream, through endeavouring to embrace his shadow,

and disappeared. The fable, however, is extremely beautiful, whether we consider Narcissus as changed into a flower or suffocated in the stream: "For (says Plotinus, Ennead. 1, lib. 6), as he in the fable, who by catching at his shadow merged himself in the stream and disappeared, so he who is captivated by beautiful bodies, and does not depart from their embrace, is precipitated, not with his body, but with his soul, into a darkness profound and horrid to intellect, through which becoming blind both here and in Hades, he converses with nothing but shadows."

Page 65. *As she was playing and gathering flowers.*] For the meaning of this part of the fable respecting Proserpine, see my *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.*

Page 68. *Tiresias.*] What are we to understand by Tiresias becoming blind, through beholding Minerva? Certainly, that by a profound conversion of the eye of his soul to *divine wisdom* he became abstracted from corporeal vision; and thus, by leading a life separate from sensible inspection, was fabled to be corporeally blind. Hence Tiresias is said by Homer, Odyss. 10, ver. 493, &c. to be the only wise person in Hades, and to possess intellect though dead, through Proserpine, while the other inhabitants of Hades are nothing more than flying shadows. For it may be truly asserted of such a one, both in the present life and hereafter, that he alone is wise and endued with intellect, when contrasted with the multitude of mankind, who from being merged in the darkness of matter lose all reality of essence, and may not only be called flying shadows, but the *dreams of shadows**.

Page 72. *One of the seasons.*] The names of the seasons, according to the Orphic hymns, are *Eunomia* or *Equity, Dicè* or *Justice,* and *Eirene* or *Peace,* concerning which three divinities I find the following beautiful passage in the Commentaries of Proclus on the Timæus, p. 275. οι θεολογοι την Εὐνομιαν εστησαν τη απλανει, το εν αυτη πληθος διακρινθσαν, και εκαστον επι της οικειας διατηρθσαν αει ταξεως. δια τθτο δε αρα και τον Ηφαιστον

* σκιας οναρ ανθρωπος. PINDAR.

ὑμνωντες τὸ ϑρανὸ ϖοιητην, συναϖτϑσιν αυτῳ και την Αγλαΐαν, ὡς αγλαΐζοντι ϖαντα τον ϑρανον, δια της των αστρων ϖοικιλιας. και ϖαλιν, τῳ μεν ϖλανωμενῳ την Δικην εφιστασι των ωρων, ὡς ωφειλϑσαν την ανωμαλιαν κατα λογον εις ομαλωτητα ϖεριαγειν. την δε Θαλειαν των χαριτων, ὡς τας ζωας αυτων αει ϑαλεις αποτελϑσαν. τῳ δε ὑϖο σελήνην, την μεν Ειρηνην, ὡς τον ϖολεμον των ϛοιχειων εξιωμενην, την τε Ευφροσυνην, των χαριτων, ὡς εκαστοις ενιδιδϑσαν ραστωνην της κατα φυσιν ενεργειας. *i. e.* "Theologists place *Eunomia* over the inerratic sphere, who separates the multitude which it contains, and perpetually preserves every thing in its proper order: and hence celebrating *Vulcan* as the fabricator of the heavens, they conjoin with him *Aglaia*, because she gives splendour to every part of the heavens, through the variety of the stars. And again, they place *Justice*, one of the seasons, over the planetary spheres; because this deity gives assistance to the inequality of their motions, and causes them through proportion to conspire into equality and consent: but of the Graces they conjoin with this divinity *Thalia*, because she gives perfection to the ever-flourishing lives which they contain. But they place *Peace* over the sublunary region, because this divinity appeases the war of the elements: but of the Graces they associate with this divinity *Euphrosyne*, because she confers a facility of natural energy on each of the elements." Agreeably to this information, Neptune in the Orphic hymn to that deity is called κυμοθαλης, or *flourishing* in water, and χαριτωπα, or having a *graceful* aspect. *Law* is called *celestial*, and the founder of the stars: and *Justice* is said to connect dissimilars from the equality of truth.

Page 73. *Onomacritus.*] This poet was an Athenian, and according to Clemens Alex. lived about the fiftieth Olympiad. Many of the poems ascribed to Orpheus are said to have been written by this poet.

Page 73. *Homer.*] Iliad 18, ver. 382. But the verses cited from Homer in the same page are Iliad 14, ver. 275.

Page 75. *Homer.*] Iliad 13, ver. 301.

Page 77. *Trophonius and Agamedes.*] Cicero gives a different account of the death of these brothers: for, according

to him, when they desired of Apollo that they might have that reward for building his temple at Delphos which he judged to be best for man, they were three days after found dead in their beds.

Page 80. *Homer.*] Iliad 5, ver. 709, and Iliad 9, ver. 381.

Page 86. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, and Odyss. 4, ver. 581.

Page 87. *The sceptre which Homer says Vulcan made for Jupiter.*] The verses alluded to here by Pausanias are in the second book of the Iliad, and are thus translated by Mr Pope:

> The king of kings his awful figure raised;
> High in his hand the golden sceptre blazed:
> The golden sceptre, of celestial frame,
> By Vulcan form'd, from Jove to Hermes came:
> To Pelops he th' immortal gift resign'd:
> Th' immortal gift great Pelops left behind
> In Atreus' hand, which not with Atreus ends,
> To rich Thyestes next the prize descends;
> And now, the mark of Agamemnon's reign,
> Subjects all Argos, and controls the main.

We have observed in a preceding note, that certain statues were said by the ancients to have descended from heaven, because they were fabricated by a certain occult art. In a similar manner, perhaps, this sceptre was said to have been made by Vulcan. But the Jupiter and Hermes that first possessed it must be considered as terrestrial heroes; and this construction being admitted, the apparent absurdity in the history of this sceptre vanishes.

Page 89. *Homer in the Odyssey.*] Lib. xi. ver. 326; and lib. xv. ver. 459; and lib. xviii. ver. 294.

Page 97. *Homer.*] The first passage respecting Panopeus is Odyss. 11, ver. 580:

> Through Panope *delighting in the dance,*
> To Pytho journeying.

The latter is Iliad 17, ver. 306, and is thus translated by Mr. Pope:

Once more at Ajax Hector's javelin flies:
The Grecian marking as it cut the skies,
Shunn'd the descending death; which, hissing on,
Stretch'd in the dust the great Iphytus' son,
Schedius the brave, of all the Phocian kind
The boldest warrior, and the noblest mind:
In little Panope, for strength renown'd,
He held his seat, and ruled the realms around.

The verses respecting Tityus are Odyss. 11, ver. 580. The translator is Mr. Pope. In a preceding note we explained from Olympiodorus the meaning of the fable of Tityus. I only add, that the great earthliness of the prudence of Tityus seems to be implied by his being extended over nine acres of ground.

Page 101. *Became divinely inspired from the vapour of the earth, and prophesied through the influence of Apollo.*] The following beautiful explanation of divination by oracles, from Jamblichus De Mysteriis, p. 72, &c. will, I doubt not, be highly acceptable to the liberal reader; as it not only unfolds the manner in which the Delphic prophetess predicted future events, but the manner in which this was accomplished by the prophetesses in Colophon and Branchidæ; and satisfactorily shows us how the gods communicate prophecy to mankind.

"It is acknowledged by all men, that the oracle in Colophon gives its answers through the medium of water: for there is a fountain in a subterranean dwelling, from which the prophetess drinks; and on certain established nights, after many sacred rites have been previously performed, and she has drunk of the fountain, she delivers oracles, but is not visible to those that are present. That this water, therefore, is prophetic, is from hence manifest. But how it becomes so, this (according to the proverb) is not for every man to know. For it appears as if a certain prophetic spirit pervaded through the water. This is not, however, in reality the case. For a divine nature does not pervade through its participants in this manner, according to interval and division, but comprehends as it were externally, and illuminates the fountain, and fills it from itself with a pro-

phetic power. For the inspiration which the water affords is not the whole of that which proceeds from a divine power, but the water itself only prepares us, and purifies our luciform spirit, so that we may be able to receive the divinity; while in the meantime there is a presence of divinity prior to this, and illuminating from on high. And this, indeed, is not absent from any one, who through aptitude is capable of being conjoined with it. But this divine illumination is immediately present, and uses the prophetess as an instrument; she neither being any longer mistress of herself, nor capable of attending to what she says, nor perceiving where she is. Hence after prediction she is scarcely able to recover herself. And before she drinks the water, she abstains from food for a whole day and night; and retiring to certain sacred places, inaccessible to the multitude, begins to receive in them the enthusiastic energy. Through her departure, therefore, and separation from human concerns, she renders herself pure, and by this means adapted to the reception of divinity: and from hence she possesses the inspiration of the god shining into the pure seat of her soul, becomes full of an unrestrained afflatus, and receives the divine presence in a perfect manner, and without any impediment.

"But the prophetess in Delphos, whether she gives oracles to mankind through an attenuated and fiery spirit, bursting from the mouth of the cavern, or whether being seated in the adytum upon a brazen tripod, or on a stool with four feet, she becomes sacred to the god;—whichsoever of these is the case, she entirely gives herself up to a divine spirit, and is illuminated with a ray of divine fire. And when, indeed, fire ascending from the mouth of the cavern circularly invests her in collected abundance, she becomes filled from it with a divine splendour. But when she places herself on the seat of the god, she becomes accommodated to his stable prophetic power; and from both these preparatory operations, she becomes wholly possessed by the god. And then, indeed, he is present with and illuminates her in a separate manner, and is different from the fire, the spirit, the proper seat, and in short from all the apparent apparatus of the place, whether physical or sacred.

"The prophetic woman, too, in Branchidæ, whether she holds in her hand a wand, which was at first received from some god, becomes filled with a divine splendour; or whether seated on an axis, she predicts future events, or dips her feet or the border of her garment in the water, or receives the god by imbibing the vapour of the water, by all these she becomes adapted to partake externally* of the god.

"But the multitude of sacrifices, the institution of the whole sanctimony, and such other things as are performed in a divine manner, prior to the prophetic inspiration, viz. the baths of the prophetess, her fasting for three whole days, her retiring into the adyta, and there receiving a divine light, and rejoicing for a considerable time—all these evince that the god is entreated by prayer to approach, that he becomes externally present, and that the prophetess, before she comes to her accustomed place, is inspired in a wonderful manner, and that in the spirit which rises from the fountain another more ancient god who is separate from the place appears, and who is the cause of the place, of the country, and of the whole of divination."

Page 102. *In imitation of what Homer says respecting the Sirens.*] The description of the Sirens is in the twelfth book of the Odyssey, near the beginning; and is thus elegantly paraphrased by Mr. Pope:

> Next where the Sirens dwell you plough the seas;
> Their song is death, and makes destruction please.
> Unbless'd the man whom music wins to stay
> Nigh the curst shore, and listen to the lay:
> No more that wretch shall view the joys of life,
> His blooming offspring, or his beauteous wife!
> In verdant meads they sport, and wide around
> Lie human bones, and whiten all the ground;
> The ground polluted floats with human gore,
> And human carnage taints the dreadful shore.
> Fly swift the dang'rous coast; let ev'ry ear
> Be stopp'd against the song; 'tis death to hear!

* That is, of an illumination which has no σχεσις, or *habitude* to any thing material.

Firm to the mast with chains thyself be bound,
Nor trust thy virtue to th' enchanting sound.
If mad with transport freedom thou demand,
Be ev'ry fetter strain'd, and added band to band.

Proclus, in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum, beautifully observes concerning the Sirens as follows:—"The divine Plato knew that there were three kinds of Sirens: the *celestial*, which is under the government of Jupiter; *that which is productive of generation* (γενεσιουργον), and is under the government of Neptune; and that which is *cathartic*, and is under the government of Pluto. It is common to all these to incline all things through an harmonic motion to their ruling gods. Hence, when the soul is in the heavens, they are desirous of uniting it to the divine life which flourishes there. But it is proper that souls living in generation should sail beyond them, like the Homeric Ulysses, that they may not be allured by generation, of which the sea is an image. And when souls are in Hades, the Sirens are desirous of uniting them through intellectual conceptions to Pluto. So that Plato knew that in the kingdom of Hades there are gods, dæmons, and souls, who dance as it were round Pluto, allured by the Sirens that dwell there."

But here a doubt may very naturally arise in the mind of the reader unskilled in philosophy, how the Sirens, who are divine powers, can be said to be desirous of connecting souls with generation, which is baneful to the soul. To this I answer, that the alluring power of the Sirens benefits impure souls, by subjecting them to generation; as their latent guilt is by this means drawn forth, and they are thus prepared for that punishment, which being inflicted for the most benevolent purposes, is in such as these necessary to the acquisition of a perfect life. But these divine natures benefit pure souls by their alluring power, because through this they call forth the virtues of such souls into energy, which would otherwise remain in a dormant state.

Page 108. *Minerva Pronoia.*] i. e. *Providential Minerva.* Phurnutus informs us, that temples were raised in honour of *Minerva Pronoia*, because this goddess is the same with the *providence* which subsists in Jupiter. I only add, that *provi-*

dence (προνοια) evidently signifies *an energy prior to intellect* (προ νου), and is therefore an energy of the gods, who are super-intellectual natures.

Page 109. *Alcæus.*] Was a lyric poet, who flourished about the 44th Olympiad, and was contemporary, according to Herodotus, with Periander. His poetry was celebrated for its great resemblance to that of Homer; but at present nothing but fragments of it remain.

Page 116. *The verses of Homer.*] The island of Æolus is described in the beginning of the tenth book of the Odyssey.

Page 117. *The Sibyl Herophile.*] Hermias the philosopher, in his MS. Commentary on the Phædrus of Plato, has the following remarkable passage respecting this Sibyl. The reader may find the original of it in my translation of the Phædrus, page 52. "The particulars which are reported about this Sibyl are so wonderful, that they have the appearance of fables. But, indeed, there were many Sibyls, all of whom adopted the same life, and all of them, perhaps through a certain rational cause, were called Sibyls: just as Hermes Trismegistus, who often resided in Egypt, is said to have made mention of himself, and to have been called the third time Hermes. Three Orpheuses also are said to have existed among the Thracians. Perhaps, therefore, these Sibyls chose these appellations from a certain communication and recollection; since this very Erythræan Sibyl, of whom Plato now speaks, was from the first called Herophile. But they report that she called every one by his proper name as soon as she was born, that she likewise spoke in verse, and that in a short time she arrived at the perfection of the human species."

Page 126. *And in a lawless manner depopulate Asia.*] It seems that the Gallic nation has been remarkable, from very early periods, for acting in defiance of law.

Page 132. *Homer.*] Odyss. 20, v. 302.

Page 141. *Nor performing any of the sacred ceremonies of his own country.*] Here, too, we see that the Gauls were at an early period remarkable for their impiety; and the same gigantic spirit rules in the breasts of their descendants of the present

day. Indeed the French seem at present to have greatly surpassed their ancestors in impiety; for it is no where asserted that the ancient Gauls were professedly a nation of atheists, though they acted in an irreligious manner. However, these effeminate, volatile, superficial, and lawless people, who, after throwing off the barbaric yoke of the *polluted piety* of the Catholics, have abandoned all religion, would do well to consider the following passage from the Commentaries of Simplicius on Epictetus, p. 200, and return, at least, to the belief of a Supreme Cause, ere they become a dreadful example to surrounding nations of that severe though necessary punishment with which atheism is inevitably attended. παντες ανθρωποι, και βαρβαροι και Ελληνες, και κατα τον προτερον απειρον χρονον και νυν, καν αλλοι κατ' αλλας εννοιας, νομιζουσιν ειναι θεον, πλην Ακροθοιτων, ως ιστορει Θεοφραστος αθεους γινομενους υπο της γης αθροως καταποθηναι. και ει δη τις αλλος εις ἡ δυο κατα παντα τον προτερον αιωνα ιστορηται. *i. e.* "All men, both Barbarians and Greeks, as well in the infinite series of past ages as now, though according to different conceptions, have believed that there is a god, the Acrothoitæ excepted—who, as Theophrastus informs us, in consequence of becoming atheists, were entirely absorbed by the earth; and perhaps one or two other nations, which may be recorded in history during the infinity of past time."

Page 150. *Know thyself.*] The soul that truly knows herself, knows that she possesses a knowledge which is situated between the universal perception of intellect, and the partial perception of sense. She must therefore be well acquainted with all the natures both prior and posterior to her own essence. And hence in self-knowledge all knowledge is comprehended. If this be the case, the number of mankind that possess this self-knowledge must be exceeding small. For there are five habits of the soul with respect to all knowledge; viz. *twofold ignorance, simple ignorance, desire, search,* and *invention:* and the multitude are under the dominion of the first two of these habits, as they are either even *ignorant of their ignorance,* or at most are sensible of it without any *desire* to become wise.

Page 152. *Homer, in the abusive speech of Melancho to Ulysses.*] This speech is in Odyss. 18, ver. 327, &c.

Page 153. *Homer, indeed.*] The verses respecting the pilot Phrontis are in Odyssey 3, ver. 277, and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> Meantime from flaming Troy we cut the way,
> With Menelaus thro' the curling sea:
> But when to Sunium's sacred point we came,
> Crown'd with the temple of th' Athenian dame;
> Atrides' pilot, Phrontis, there expired
> (Phrontis, of all the sons of men admired,
> To steer the bounding bark with steady toil,
> When the storm thickens, and the billows boil);
> While yet he exercised the steersman's art,
> Apollo touch'd him with his gentle dart:
> Ev'n with the rudder in his hand he fell.

Page 157. *Homer.*] In the 17th book of the Iliad, ver. 309, Homer says of Ajax that he broke the cavity of the coat of mail of Phorcys:

ῥῆξε δὲ Θωρηκος γυαλον.

Page 157. *Homer.*] Iliad 3, ver. 204.

Page 162. *This Bacchus, too, in my opinion, &c.*] The Bacchus who first led an army to the Indies, must have been a hero who descended from the *god* Bacchus; and who knowing this, called himself by the name of his leading divinity.

Page 163. *Homer.*] The verses respecting Theseus and Pirithous are in Odyssey 11, and Iliad 1, ver. 260.

Page 164. *The daughters of Pandarus.*] The verses alluded to by Pausanias respecting the daughters of Pandarus are in Odyssey 20, ver. 66; and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> So, Pandarus, thy hopes, three orphans fair,
> Were doom'd to wander through the devious air;
> Thyself, untimely, and thy consort, died,
> But four celestials both your cares supplied.
> Venus in tender delicacy rears,
> With honey, milk, and wine, their infant years;

Imperial Juno to their youth assign'd
A form majestic, and sagacious mind:
With shapely growth Diana graced their bloom;
And Pallas taught the texture of the loom.
But whilst to learn their lots in nuptial love,
Bright Cytherea sought the bower of Jove
(The god supreme, to whose eternal eye
The registers of fate expanded lie);
Wing'd harpies snatch'd th' unguarded charge away,
And to the furies bore a grateful prey.

Page 165. *As Homer represents it.*] The verses alluded to by Pausanias respecting the grove of Proserpine are in Odyssey 10, ver. 510, and may be thus translated:

The groves of Proserpine, where poplars tall
And barren willows tremble o'er the deep.

Page 166. *His whole figure is that of a humble abject man.*] It is well said by Aristotle, in his Nicomachian Ethics, that all humble men are flatterers, and that all flatterers are humble. This base habit of the soul is confounded by most of the present day with modesty; though it is in reality as different from it as the whining cant of some contemptible sectary from the magnanimous speeches of Achilles in the Iliad.

Page 169. *Pouring out the remains of the water into the perforated vessel, &c.*] Plato in the Gorgias observes that the most wretched of those in Hades are the uninitiated, and that the employment of such consists in pouring water out of one perforated vessel into another. Pausanias, therefore, is right in conjecturing that these persons in the picture despised the Eleusinian Mysteries. For Proclus in Plat. Polit. p. 369, observes, "that the mysteries led back the soul from a material and mortal life, and conjoined it with the gods; that by intellectual illuminations they removed all the perturbation introduced by the irrational life, and exterminated whatever was dark and indefinite in the initiated, through the light proceeding from the gods." Not, indeed, that this was the case with all the initiated, for none but true philosophers could receive these advantages from the mysteries; but they purified in a

certain degree all that were properly initiated in them; and on this account they were called medicines by Heraclitus. He, therefore, that despised the mysteries despised the means of becoming internally pure, and in consequence of this both here and hereafter might be said to live in Hades, and to be employed in pouring water out of one perforated vessel into another. For such a one lived in *obscurity*, through being in a state of servitude to the body; and was continually busied in endeavouring to satisfy *the indigence of desires* with the flowing nature of a corporeal life, which glides away as fast as it is received into the soul from one desire to another, and leaves nothing behind but the ruinous clefts through which it passed.

Page 174. *The tears of Isis cause the Nile to increase.*] In a preceding note we have observed from Proclus that there is a terrestrial Isis about the divinity of the earth. I shall now further observe, from the same incomparable man, that tears were considered by ancient theologists as symbols of the providence of the gods about mortal natures: and hence this saying of the Ægyptians signifies, that the increase of the Nile is owing to the providential energies of Isis, considered as co-operating with Vesta in the government of the earth.

Page 174. *Homer, therefore, appears to speak truly,* &c.] The words of Homer alluded to by Pausanias are these:

χαλεποι δε θεοι φαινεσθαι εναργεις.
ILIAD 20, ver. 131.

Which I thus translate:

O'erpow'ring are the gods when clearly seen.

And in rendering the word χαλεποι *o'erpowering* I am supported by the authority of Jamblichus, De Mysteriis, p. 50. και μην την γε λεπτοτητα του φωτος οι μεν θεοι τοσαυτην επιλαμπουσιν, ως μη δυνασθαι χωρειν αυτην τους σωματικους οφθαλμους, αλλα και αυτο πασχειν των ιχθυων, τοις απο θολερας και παχειας υγροτητος εις αερα λεπτον και διαφανη αναστρωμενοις. και γαρ οι ανθρωποι οι θεωροι του θειου πυρος αναπνειν, ολιγοδρανουσιν, ως ιδειν φαινονται, και του συμφυτου πνευματος αποκλιονται. *i. e.* "The gods, when they appear, diffuse a light of so subtle a nature, that the cor-

poreal eyes are not able to bear it; but are affected in the same manner as fishes when they are drawn out of turbid and thick water into attenuated and diaphanous air. For men who behold a divine fire, as soon as they perceive it are scarcely able to breathe, and their connate spirit becomes enclosed in the fire." This passage may be considered as a comment on the above words of Homer; and at the same time shows that Pausanias is mistaken in his interpretation of them.

Page 176. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, ver. 529.

Page 177. *Herodotus.*] In Herodotus, p. 299, this city is called *Amphicæa.*

Page 188. *Homer.*] Iliad 2, ver. 517.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

THE following information respecting Saturn, Minerva, and Diana, in addition to what the reader will find in Vol. III. p. 196, 212, and 250, is a translation from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus of Plato; which admirable work was published from manuscripts, by the very learned Professor Boissonade, Lipsiæ, 1820, 12mo. *

In p. 58, therefore, Proclus says of Saturn as follows:

"Why does Socrates apprehend the name of king Saturn to be ὑβριστικον, *insolent*, and looking to what does he assert this? We reply that, according to the poets *satiety* (κορος) is the cause of *insolence*; for they thus denominate immoderation and repletion; and they say that *Satiety* brought forth *Insolence* (ὑβριν φασιν τικτει κορος). He, therefore, who looks without attention to the name of Saturn, will consider it as signifying *insolence*. For to him who suddenly hears it, it manifests satiety and repletion. Why, therefore, since a name of this kind is expressive of insolence, do we not pass it over in silence, as not being auspicious and adapted to the gods? May we not say that the royal series † of the gods, beginning from Phanes and ending in Bacchus, and producing the same sceptre supernally, as far as to the last kingdom, Saturn being allotted the fourth

* The Professor, in this work, not only frequently mentions me, but in p. 23, does me the honour to call me, "Vir in Platonicorum philosophia versatissimus."

† This royal series consists of Phanes, Night, Heaven, Saturn, Jupiter, Bacchus. "Ancient theologists (says Syrianus, in his Commentary on the 14th book of Aristotle's Metaphysics) assert that Night and Heaven reigned; and

royal order, appears, according to the fabulous pretext, differently from the other kings, to have received the sceptre insolently from Heaven, and to have given it to Jupiter? For Night receives the sceptre from Phanes; Heaven derives from Night the dominion over wholes; and Bacchus, who is the last king of the gods, receives the kingdom from Jupiter. For the father (Jupiter) establishes him in the royal throne, puts into his hand the sceptre, and makes him the king of all the mundane gods. 'Hear me, ye gods; I place over you a king.'

κλυτε θεοι, τον δ'υμμιν βασιλεα τιθημι.

says Jupiter to the junior gods. But Saturn alone perfectly deprives Heaven of the kingdom, and concedes dominion to Jupiter, cutting and being cut off as the fable says. Plato, therefore, seeing this succession, which in Saturn is called by theologists *insolent* (ὑβριστικη), thought it worth while to mention the appearance of insolence in the name; that from this he might evince the name is adapted to the god, and that it bears an image of the insolence which is ascribed to him in fables. At the same time he teaches us to refer mythical devices to the truth concerning the gods, and the apparent absurdity which they contain, to scientific conceptions.

"But why does Plato now call Saturn διανοια, the dianoetic part of the soul? May we not say, that it is because he looks to the multitude of intellectual conceptions in him, the orders of intelligibles, and the evolution of forms which he contains? since also in the Timæus, he represents the demiurgic intellect as reasoning, and making the world by dianoetically energizing; and this in consequence of looking to his partible and divided

prior to these, the mighty father of Night and Heaven, who distributed the world to gods and mortals, and who first possessed royal authority, the illustrious Ericapæus.

τοιαν ελων διενειμε θεοις, θνητοισι δε κοσμον
ου πρωτος βασιλευε περικλυτος Ηρικεπαιος.

Night succeeded Ericapæus, in the hands of whom she has a sceptre.

σκηπτρον εχουσ' εν χερσιν Ηρικεπαιου.

intellections, according to which he fabricates not only wholes but parts. When Saturn, however, is called intellect, Jupiter has the order of the dianoetic part: and when again, Saturn is called the dianoetic part, we must say that he is so called according to analogy, with reference to a certain other intellect of a higher order. Whether, therefore, you are willing to speak of intelligible and occult intellect, or of that which unfolds into light (εκφαντορικος νους), or of that which connectedly contains (συνεκτικος νους), or of that which imparts perfection* (τελεσιουργος νους), Saturn will be as the dianoetic part to all these. For he produces united intellection into multitude, and fills himself wholly with excited intelligibles. Whence also, he is said to be the leader of the Titannic race, and the source of all various separation and diversifying power. And, perhaps, Plato here primarily delivers twofold interpretations of the name of the Titans, which Jamblichus and Amelius afterwards adopted. For the one interprets this name from the Titans extending their powers to all things; but the other from *something insectile* (παρα το τι ατομον), because the division and separation of wholes into parts receives its beginning from the Titans. Socrates, therefore, now indicates both these interpretations, by asserting of the king of the Titans that he is a *certain great dianoetic power*. For the term *great* is a symbol of power pervading to all things; but the term *a certain*, of power proceeding to the most partial natures.

"Again, the name Saturn is now triply analysed; of which the first, asserting this god to be the plenitude of intellectual good, and to be the satiety of a divine intellect, from its conveying an image of the satiety and repletion which are reprobated by the many, is ejected as insolent. The second, also, which exhibits the imperfect and the puerile, is in like manner rejected. But the third, which celebrates this god as full of purity, and as the leader of undefiled intelligence, and an un-

* Of these intellects the first is Phanes, the second Heaven, the third Earth, and the fourth the Subcelestial Arch, which is celebrated in the Phædrus, viz. νους νοητος ο Φανης, εκφαντορικος νους ο Ουρανος, συνεκτικος νους η γη, τελεσιουργος δε νους η υπουρανιος αψις.

deviating life, is approved. For king Saturn is intellect, and the supplier of all intellectual life; but he is an intellect exempt from co-ordination with sensibles, immaterial and separate, and converted to himself. He likewise converts his progeny; and after producing them into light, again embosoms and firmly establishes them in himself. For the demiurgus of the universe, though he is a divine intellect, yet he orderly arranges sensibles, and provides for subordinate natures. But the mighty Saturn is essentialized in separate intellections, and which transcend wholes. 'For the fire which is beyond the first (says the Chaldean oracle), does not incline its power downwards.' But the demiurgus is suspended and proceeds from Saturn, being himself an intellect subsisting about an immaterial intellect, energizing about it as the intelligible, and producing that which is occult in it, into the apparent. For the maker of the world is an intellect of intellect. And it appears to me, that as Saturn is the summit of those gods that are properly called intellectual, he is intellect, as with reference to the intelligible genus of gods. For all the intellectual adhere to the intelligible genus of gods, and are conjoined with them through intellections. 'Ye who understand the supermundane paternal profundity,' says the hymn to them. But Saturn is intelligible, with reference to all the intellectual gods. *Purity*, therefore, indicates this impartible and imparticipable transcendency of Saturn. For the not coming into contact with matter, the impartible, and an exemption from habitude, are signified by purity. Such, indeed, is the transcendency of this god, with respect to all co-ordination with things subordinate, and such his undefiled union with the intelligible, that he does not require a Curetic guard, like Rhea, Jupiter, and Proserpine. For all these, through their progressions into secondary natures, require the immutable defence of the Curetes. But Saturn, being firmly established in himself, and hastily withdrawing himself from all subordinate natures, is established above the guardianship of the Curetes. He contains, however, the cause of these uniformly in himself. For this purity, and the undefiled which he possesses, give subsistence to all the progressions

of the Curetes. Hence in the Oracles, he is said to comprehend the first fountain of the Amilicti, and to ride on all the others. 'The intellect of the father riding on attenuated rulers, they become refulgent with the furrows of inflexible and implacable fire.'

Νους παλιος αραιοις εποχουμενος ιθυντηρσιν
Ακναμπτου ασταπτουσιν Αμειλικτου πυρος ολκοις.

"He is therefore *pure intellect*, as giving subsistence to the undefiled order, and as being the leader of the whole intellectual series.

Αυτου γαρ εκθρωσκουσιν Αμειλικτοι τε κεραυνοι,
Και πρηστηροδοχοι κολποι παμφεγγους αλκης
Πατρογενους Εκατης, και υπεζωκος πυρος ανθος,
Ηδε κραταιον πνευμα πολων πυριων επεκεινα.

i. e. 'From him leap forth the implacable thunders, and the prester-capacious bosoms of the all-splendid strength of the father-begotten Hecate, together with the environed flower of fire, and the strong spirit which is beyond the fiery poles.'

"For he convolves all the hebdomad of the fountains,* gives subsistence to it, from his unical and intelligible summit. For he is, as the Oracle says, *αμιστυλλευτος*, uncut into fragments, uniform and undistributed, and connectedly contains all the fountains, converting and uniting all of them to himself, and being separate from all things with immaculate purity. Hence he is *κορονους*, as an immaterial and pure intellect, and as establishing himself in the paternal silence. He is also celebrated as the father of fathers. Saturn, therefore, is a father and intelligible, as with reference to the intellectual gods.

"Moreover, every intellect is either *permanent*, and is then intelligible, as being better than motion; or it is moved, and is then intellectual; or it is both, and is then intelligible, and at the same time intellectual. The first of these is Phanes (the exemplar of the universe); the second, which is alone moved,

* That is of the whole intellectual order, which consists of Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, the three Curetes, and the separating monad Ocean.

is Saturn; and the third, which is both moved and permanent, is Heaven.

"Again, Saturn, from his impartible, simple, paternal, and beneficent subsistence in the intellectual orders, has been considered by some as the same with the one cause of all things. He is, however, analogous to this cause, just as Orpheus calls the first cause Time (Χρονος), nearly homonymously with Saturn (Κρονος). But the Oracles of the Gods (*i. e.* the Chaldean oracles) characterise this deity by the epithet of the once (τῳ απαξ) calling him *once beyond* (απαξ επεκεινα). For *the once* is allied to *the one.*"

In p. 117, he observes respecting Minerva:—"Again, theologists especially celebrate two powers of our sovereign mistress Minerva, the *defensive*, and the *perfective*; the former preserving the order of wholes undefiled and unvanquished by matter, and the latter filling all things with intellectual light, and converting them to their cause. And on this account, Plato also, in the Timæus, analogously celebrates Minerva as *philopolemic* and *philosophic*. But three orders of this goddess are delivered by theologists; the one fontal and intellectual, according to which she establishes herself in her father Jupiter, and subsists in unproceeding union with him; but the second ranks among the supermundane gods, according to which she is present with Core, and bounds and converts all the progression of that goddess to herself. And the third is *liberated*, according to which she perfects and guards the whole world, and circularly invests it with her powers, as with a veil; binding together all the mundane summits, and giving subsistence to all the allotments in the heavens, and to those which proceed into the sublunary region. Now, therefore, Socrates celebrates her *guardian* power, through the name of *Pallas*; but her *perfective* power through that of *Minerva*. She is the cause, therefore, of orderly and measured motion, which she first imparts to the Curetic order, and afterwards to the other gods. For Minerva, according to this power, is the leader of the Curetes, as Orpheus says, whence also, as well as those divinities, she is adorned with empyrean arms, through which she represses

all disorder, preserves the demiurgic series immoveable, and unfolds dancing through rythmical motion. She also guards reason as it proceeds from intellect, through this power vanquishing matter. 'For the visible region (says Timæus) is mingled from intellect and necessity, the latter being obedient to the former, and all material causes being in subjection to the will of the father.' It is this goddess, therefore, who arranges necessity under the productions of intellect, raises the universe to the participation of Jupiter, excites and establishes it in the port of its father, and eternally guards and defends it. Hence, if the universe is said to be indissoluble, it is this goddess who supplies its permanency; and if it moves in measured motion, through the whole of time, according to one reason and order, she is the source of this supply. She watchfully surveys, therefore, all the fabrication of her father, and connects and converts it to him; and vanquishes all material indefiniteness."

And, in the last place, of Diana he says as follows, p. 111 :— "With respect to our sovereign mistress Diana, Plato delivers three peculiarities of her: the undefiled, the mundane, and the anagogic or elevating. And through the first of these, indeed, the goddess is said to be a lover of virginity; but through the second, according to which she is perfective of works (τελεσιούργος), she is said to be the inspective guardian of virtue; and through the third, she is said to hate the impulse arising from generation. Of these three likewise, the first is especially adapted to the progression of the goddess, according to which she is allotted a subsistence in the vivific triad of the supermundane gods; whether we call this deity Hecatic, as theurgists say, or Diana with Orpheus. For there being established, she is filled with undefiled powers from the gods called *Amilicti**. But she looks to the fountain of virtue, and embraces its virginity. For the virginity which is there does not proceed forth, as the [Chaldean] Oracle says, but abiding gives subsistence to Diana, and to supermundane virtue; and is exempt from all communion, conjunction, and progression, according

* That is, the Corybantes.

to generation. Hence Core also, according to the Diana and Minerva which she contains, is said to remain a virgin; but, according to the prolific power of Proserpine, she is said to proceed forth, and to be conjoined with the third demiurgus, and to bring forth, as Orpheus says, 'Nine azure-eyed, flower-producing daughters;'

επια θυγατερας γλαυκωπιδας ανθεσιουργους·

since the Diana and the Minerva which she contains preserve their virginity always the same. For the former of these is characterised according to her stability, but the latter according to her convertive energy. But that which is generative is allotted in her a middle order. They say, too, that she aspires after virginity, since the form of her is comprehended in the vivific fountain; and she understands fontal virtue, gives subsistence to supermundane and anagogic virtue, and despises all material sexual connexion, though she inspects the fruits arising from it.

"She appears also to be averse to the generations and progressions of things, but to introduce perfections to them. And she gives perfection, indeed, to souls through a life according to virtue; but to mortal animals she imparts a restitution to form. But that there is a great union between Diana, the mundane Hecatæ, and Core, is evident to those that are in the least degree conversant with the writings of Orpheus; from which it appears that Latona is comprehended in Ceres, and, together with Jupiter, gives subsistence to Core and the mundane Hecate. To which we may also add, that Orpheus* calls Diana Hecate. So that it is nothing wonderful, if we should elsewhere call the Diana contained in Core Hecate."

* Η δ' αρα Εκαλη παιδος μελη ανθι λιπουσα
Λητους ευπλοκαμοιο κορη προσεθησαθ' ομιλον.

INDEX.

A.

Abæ, the city, iii. 181.
Abantis, the region, ii. 60.
Abaris, i. 267.
Abartus, ii. 155.
Abas, the city, iii. 95.
——, the son of Lynceus, iii. 181.
Abasa, the island, ii. 146.
Abia, a city in Messene, i. 390.
Abia, the nurse of Hyllus, i. 390.
Abrus, the city, ii. 173.
Acacus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
Acamas, the son of Theseus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Acarnan, the son of Alcmæon, ii. 275.
Acarnanes, the particulars of an engagement between them and the Messenians, i. 377.
Acastus, ii. 46. 130.
Acestium, wife of Themistocles, i. 101.
Acestor, the statuary, ii. 119.
Achæus, the son of Xuthus, ii. 147.
Achaia, formerly called Ægialus, ii. 147.
Achaians, particulars of their warlike affairs, ii. 162.
Achaians and Lacedæmonians, transactions of the, ii. 169, 170, 171.
Achaians injured through prodition, ii. 172.
——— vanquish the Lacedæmonians, ii. 180.
——— imprison the Lacedæmonians in Corinth, ii. 182.
——— the army of the, routed by Mummius, ii. 186.
Achaic war, when finished, ii. 189.
Achaicon, the name of the assembly of the Achaians, ii. 164.
Achelous, the river, ii. 309.
Acheron, the banks of, produce the white poplar, ii. 35.
Acheron, a picture of, iii. 159.
Acherusian marsh, i. 43.
Achilleus, the port, i. 306.
Achivus of Ægium, i. 293.
Acichorius, the Gallic general, iii. 136.
Acidas, the river, ii. 12.
Acra, the promontory, i. 220.
Acræa, i. 168.
Acræphnium, the city, iii. 45.
Acratus, a Bacchic dæmon, i. 6.
Acria, i. 295.
Acrias, ii. 133.
Acriphius, ii. 282.
Acrisius made a brazen bedchamber for his daughter, iii. 102.
Acrocorinthus, the summit of a Corinthian mountain, i. 136.
Acrotatus, the son of Cleomenes, i. 245.
Acusilaus, the Olympic pugilist, ii. 93.
Actæon, i. 122.
———, the stone of, iii. 4.
———, the spectre of, iii. 79.
———, a picture of, iii. 165.
———, the fable of, explained, i. 342.
Atæus, the first Attic king, i. 6.
Actium, the promontory, ii. 194.
Actor, the son of Phorbas, ii. 4.
Admantis, i. 356.
Admetus, ii. 46.
———, a picture of, iii. 158.
Adrastus, i. 141.
———, the statue of, i. 178.
———, the house of, i. 186.
———, a brazen statue of, ii. 169.
———, gave the horse Arion to Hercules, ii. 279.
Adrian the emperor, a statue of, i. 7.

Adrian, a most religious cultivator of divinity, i. 14.
———, dedicated the statue of Olympian Jupiter in Attica, i. 46.
———, statues of, i. 46.
———, a statue of, ii. 31.
——— greatly enlarged the road Sciron, i. 122.
——— raised baths for the Corinthians, i. 132.
——— dedicated a peacock of gold and splendid stones, i. 170.
——— dedicated a temple to Apollo, in Abæ, iii. 182.
——— raised a temple near the walls of Mantinea, ii. 245.
——— brought water from Stymphalus into the city of the Corinthians, ii. 269.
Adrian, a gymnasium so called, i. 47.
Adytum, a recess so called, i. 128.
Æaceum, an inclosure, in Ægina, i. 204.
Æacidæ, all of that name and family died like Pyrrhus, i. 35.
Æacus, i. 108. 202.
Æchidna, the symbolical meaning of, unfolded, iii. 260.
Ægæ, formerly an Achaian city, ii. 260.
Ægeus, i. 57.
Ægeus and Theseus, story of, i. 73.
Ægiæ, a Lacedæmonian town, i. 294.
Ægialea, the city, i. 139.
Ægialeus, the son of Adrastus, iii. 12.
———, an account of the posterity of, that reigned in Sicyon, i. 139.
———, the statue of, i. 178. iii. 114.
Ægila, a place so called in Sparta, i. 355.
Ægina, the daughter of Asopus, i. 202. ii. 61.
Ægina, the daughter of Asopus, what we are to understand by the relation concerning, in which it was said that she was ravished by Jupiter, iii. 259.
Ægina, the most difficult of access by sea of all the Grecian islands, i. 204.
Æginetæ, the kingdom of, subverted by the Athenians, i. 204.
——— migrated to Thyræa in Argolis, ib.
——— reverence Hecate above all the divinities, i. 206.
Æginetas, the son of Pompus, ii. 235.
Ægira, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 219.
Ægisthæna, the town, i. 121.
Ægium, ii. 209.
Ægyptus, the son of Nileus, ii. 152.
Ægys, a city bordering on the Lacedæmonians, i. 235.
Æneas, a brazen statue of, i. 180.
Ænesidemus, ii. 61.
Ænetus, the statue of, i. 284.
Æolius, ii. 133.
Æpytus, i. 319.
———, the son of Elatus, ii. 232.
———, the son of Hippotnous, ii. 234.
Æschylus, i. 4.
——— wrote a poem on the battle of Marathon, i. 38.
———, statue and picture of, i. 53. 76. 190. ii. 238. iii. 44.
———, why said to be the first that represented the Furies with snakes in their hair, iii. 215. 220.
Æchynes, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 113.
Æsculapius, called by the Phocenses, Archagetas, iii. 172.
———, a famous statue of, i. 187.
———, a bath of, i. 199.
———, was born in Epidauria, i. 196.
Æsimides, the Athenian Archon, i. 325.
Æsymnetes, the god, ii. 199.
Æsypus, a victor in the Olympic games, with the vaulting horse, ii. 80.
Æthidas, a statue of, i. 396.
Æthlius, the son of Jupiter and Protogenia, the daughter of Deucalion, ii. 2.
Æthra, the mother of Theseus, a picture of, iii. 154.
———, i. 216.
Æthusa, the daughter of Neptune, iii. 39.
Ætius, the son of Anthas, i. 208. 213.
Ætolus, the son of Endymion, ii. 2. 3.
Ætolus, the son of Oxylus, ii. 9.
Ætnæus, the son of Prometheus, iii. 49.
Agamedes, the architect, iii. 21.
Agamedes, the son of Stymphalus, ii. 232.
Agamemnon, i. 142.
———, reverenced by the Clazomenii, ii. 161.
———, a picture of, iii. 164.
Agametor, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 100.
Aganippe, the fountain, iii. 57.
Agapenor, the son of Ancæus, led the Arcadians to the Trojan war, ii. 233.
Agaptos, an Elean porch, ii. 39.
Agasicles, the son of Archidamus, and king of Sparta, i. 249.
Agasthenes, ii. 179.

Agasthenes, the son of Augeas, ii. 6.
Agathinus, a victor in the Olympic-games, ii. 110.
Agathocles, the Athenian Archon, iii. 93.
Agave, the symbolical signification of, iii. 250.
Agdistis, the dæmon, ii. 192.
Agelades, the statuary, i. 398. ii. 97. 113. iii. 114.
———, the statuary, ii. 101.
Agelaus, the harper, iii. 106.
Ageles Chius, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 114.
Agemachus, ii. 109.
Agenor, a boy skilled in wrestling, ii. 90.
Agenor, the son of Triopas, i. 166.
———, a picture of, iii. 158.
Agenor, the father of Preugenes, ii. 194.
Agesilaus, the son of Archidamus, i. 250.
Agesilaus, the son of Doryssus, i. 235.
——— sails to Aulis in order to attack Artaxerxes the son of Darius, i. 254.
——— engages with, and conquers, Tisaphernes, i, 255.
——— is obliged to withdraw his army from Asia, i. 256.
———, his warlike transactions, i. 257. 258.
Agesipolis and Cleombrotus, the sons of Pausanias, placed under the guardianship of Aristodemus, i. 244.
Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias, wars on the Argives, i. 245.
———, a stratagem of, ii. 242.
Agetor, the Arcadian, ii. 55.
Agias, a brazen image of, i. 261.
Agidæ, the posterity of Eurysthenes so called, i. 234.
Agiadas, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 102.
Agis, lines of, i. 141.
——, the son of Archidamus, and king of Sparta, i. 250.
—— invades and depopulates the country of the Eleans, i. 251.
—— warlike transactions of, i. 252.
—— took the city of Pellene, ii. 165.
—— prevented by the north wind from taking Megalopolis, ii. 285.
Agnagora, the sister of Aristomenes, i. 374.
Agnamptos, the porch, in Altis, ii. 128.
Agno, the nymph, ii. 308. 326.
Agoracritos, the statuary, iii. 70.
Agorius, the son of Damosius, ii. 9.
Agræ, a place in Attica, i. 49.
Agræus, i. 200.
Agrolas, i. 75.
Agyia, ii. 38.
Ajax, the race of, obscure, i. 203.
——, Salaminian, a picture of, iii. 166.
——, the son of Oileus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Alaia, games so called, ii. 326.
Alalcomenæ, the village, iii. 69.
Alalcomenias, the fountain, ii. 252.
Alalcomenes, the nurse of Minerva, iii. 69.
Alagonia, a Spartan town, i. 311.
Alcænetus, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 95.
Alce, the, a wild beast, particulars of, iii. 41.
Alcamenes, the statuary, i. 3. 20. 206. ii. 25. 243. iii. 23.
———, the son of Teleclus, i. 236. 320.
Alcander, i. 282.
Alcathous, the tower, i. 114.
———, the son of Parthaon, ii. 133.
Alcæus, the poet, ii. 119. iii. 109.
Alcestis, ii. 46.
Alcibiades, i. 83. ii. 169.
Alcida, iii. 33.
Alcman, the poet, i. 112. 308.
Alcmæon, the son of Sillus, i. 173.
———, the son of Amphiaraus, the statue of, i. 178.
———, particulars of, ii. 274.
Alcidamidas, i. 372.
Alcidocus, the son of Scopius, ii. 7.
Alcimedon, the plain, ii. 251.
———, the hero, ii. 251.
Alcinoe, the Nymph, ii. 326.
Alcmene, the bed-chamber of, iii. 21.
Alea, the city, ii. 270.
Ales, the river, ii. 161.
Alesia, a place in Sparta so called, i. 290.
Aletes, the son of Hippotas, i. 135.
Aleus, the son of Aphidas, ii. 231.
Aleuadæ, the, ii. 172.
Alexander, the son of Philip, ii. 57. 286.
———, a dream of, ii. 158.
———, a statue of, ii. 67. 102.
———, the fortune of, not advanced by prodition, ii. 172.

Alexander, the son of Philip, conquered in that Olympic course, called the Hemerodromos, ii. 117.
———, the first European prince that possessed elephants, i. 31.
Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, iii. 15.
Alexandrea, the Trojan city, iii. 118.
Alexander Pleuronius, i. 185.
Alexanor, the son of Machaon, i. 155.
Alexibius, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 119.
Alexinicus, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 120.
Alipherus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 281.
Aliphirus, ii. 230.
Alitherses, the son of Ancæus, ii. 156.
———, a statue of, iii. 114.
Alotia, games so called, ii. 326.
Alpheus, the river, ii. 15.
———, particulars of, ii. 381.
———, a representation of, ii. 25.
Alphesibœa, ii 274.
Alphius, a picture of, iii. 153.
Alpius, i. 282.
Altar of all the gods in common, ii. 38.
——— Alcamenes and Iolaus, i. 48.
——— Alpheus and Diana, ii. 36.
——— Ammon, iii. 31.
——— Amphiaraus distributed into five parts, i. 94.
——— Androgeus, the son of Minos, i. 3.
——— Anteros, ii. 138.
——— Apollo, ii. 39. iii. 178.
——— Apollo Acritas, i. 265.
——— Apollo and Mercury, ii. 37.
——— Apollo Dionysodotus, i. 87.
——— Apollo, foreseeing, i. 88.
——— Apollo, Pythian, ii. 39.
——— Apollo Thermios, ii. 39.
——— Bacchus, ii. 39.
——— Bacchus and the Graces, ii. 38.
——— florid, i. 87.
——— Saotas, i. 211.
——— called Themidus, i. 211.
——— Boreas, ii. 303.
——— Ceres, ii. 305.
——— Anesidora, i. 87.
——— and Proserpine, ii. 138.
——— Chalcioecus, i. 281.
——— children of Theseus and Phalerus, i. 3.
——— Concord, ii. 47.
——— crude tiles in Altis, ii. 128.
Altar of the Curetes, ii. 37.
——— Despoina, ii. 39. 304.
——— Diana, ii. 36. 39.
——— rural Diana, ii. 40.
——— Diana Coccœa, ii. 40.
——— Diana Forensis, ii. 38.
——— Protothronia, iii. 190.
——— splendour-bearing, i. 87.
——— Dictyes and Clymelies, i. 170.
——— the Dioscuri, i. 39.
——— under the appellation of the Ambulii, i. 268.
——— Earth, i. 87. ii. 329.
——— Epimedes, Idas, Pæoneus, and Jasus, ii. 37.
——— Ergane, ii. 36.
——— Good Fortune, ii. 39.
——— Gods, the unknown, ii. 37.
——— Goddesses, the severe, i. 87.
——— Hercules, i. 85.
——— and Hebe, i. 48.
——— Parastates, ii. 87.
——— the Idean Hercules, ii. 137.
——— Heroes, i. 3.
——— Hours, the, ii. 38.
——— Juno, ii. 243.
——— equestrian, ii. 39.
——— Olympia, ii. 37.
——— Samian, ii. 34.
——— Jupiter Ambulius, i. 268.
——— Catæbatas, ii. 37.
——— Cenius, ii. 37.
——— Ctesian, i. 87.
——— Eleutherius, iii. 5.
——— Forensis, ii. 39.
——— Hesceus, ii. 37.
——— Hercean, i. 356.
——— Lacetas and Neptune Lacetas, ii. 64.
——— Lecheatas, ii. 281.
——— Lycæan, ii. 308. 381.
——— the Mild, i. 102.
——— the Most High, ii. 39.
——— Olympian, ii. 34. 35.
——— the Perfect, ii. 328.
——— Phyxius, i. 180.
——— Pluvius, i. 88. 176.
——— the Purifier, ii. 37.
——— Semelean, i. 88.
——— terrestrial, ii. 37.
Altars dedicated to Jupiter, ii. 140.
Altar of Iodamia, iii. 70.
——— Ismenides, the nymphs, i. 87.
——— Lathria and Anaxandra, i. 277.
——— Love, i. 84. ii. 137.
——— Lucina, ii. 126.
——— Mars, ii. 295.
——— equestrian, ii. 39.
——— Melicerta, i. 126.

Altar of Mercury, ii. 36.
——— Enagonius, ii. 37.
——— of the gods called Meilichioi, iii. 191.
——— Minerva, i. 85. ii. 36. 37.
——— Ambulia, i. 268.
———, the Deprecatrix, i. 76.
———, Diana and Latona, i. 86.
——— equestrian, i. 86. ii. 39.
——— Tithrone, i. 87.
——— Moirageta, ii. 39.
——— Mother of the Gods, ii. 37.
——— the Muses, i. 49. 85. ii. 38.
——— Neptune equestrian, i. 86. ii. 39.
——— Heliconian Neptune, ii. 212.
——— Neptune Isthmian, i. 150.
——— Nymphs, ii. 38.
——— Acmenai, ii. 39.
——— Opportunity, ii. 37.
——— Pan, i. 154. ii. 39.
——— Prometheus, i. 85.
——— Proserpine first-born, i. 87.
——— the Sun, i. 137. 154. 171. ii. 244.
——— the Liberator, i. 211.
——— the subterranean gods, i. 210.
——— Themis, ii. 37.
——— Venus, ii. 38. 39.
——— Vesta, ii. 36.
——— Victory, ii. 37.
——— Vulcan, ii. 36.
——— the unknown gods, i. 5.
——— white stone in Altis, ii. 138.
——— Arcadia, ii. 259.
——— the Winds, i. 157. iii. 70.
——— Zephyr, i. 101.
—— in Altis, upon which trumpeters and criers contend after the ancient manner, ii. 59.
—— in which the marriage of Hercules and Hebe is represented, i. 170.
——, a picture of an, iii. 157.
——, an ancient one among the Uroegenians, i. 211.
—— containing the dead body of Hyacinthus, i. 287.
Alsus, the river, ii. 224.
Althepus, the son of Neptune, called Trœzen Althepia, i. 208.
Altis, the sacred grove of Jupiter, ii. 23.
—— in Olympia, ii. 32.
Alypus the statuary, ii. 77. 97. iii. 112.
Alyattes, ii. 24.
Alysson, an Arcadian fountain, ii. 265.
Amarynceus, ii. 4.
Amathus, the city, iii. 88.
Amazons, i. 113. 215. ii. 151.
Ambryssus, the city, iii. 95. 184.
———, the hero, iii. 184.
Ameilichos, the river, ii. 197.
Amertas, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 96.
Amilius, the city, ii. 254.
Aminius, the river, ii. 289.
Amphea, a small Messenian city, i. 324.
Amphialus, a picture of, iii. 153.
Amphianax, i. 308.
Amphiaraus, i. 164.
——, a statue of, iii. 113.
Amphiclea, the city, called by Herodotus Ophitea, iii. 177.
Amphiclus, the great grandfather of Hector, ii. 158.
Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, raised the first Grecian Sunedrion, iii. 107.
Amphictyons, the musical games of the, iii. 105.
——— the particulars of, iii. 107.
Amphidamus, the son of Aleus, ii. 232.
Amphilochus, i. 94. ii. 45.
——— the statue of, i. 191.
——— the son of Amphiaraus, i. 178.
Amphimachus, ii. 6.
Amphion, iii. 10.
——, the meaning of his drawing stones together by the harmony of his lyre, iii. 294.
——— the statuary, ii. 81.
Amphissa, the daughter of Macareus, iii. 190.
——, the city, iii. 189.
Amphithemis, i. 256.
Amphitus, the river, i. 399.
Amphoterus, the son of Alcmæon, ii. 275.
Ampyx, the son of Pelias, ii. 194.
Amycla, the village, i. 287.
Amyclas, i. 231. ii. 194.
Amyclæus, the throne of, its ornaments described, i. 284—287.
Amymone, the river, i. 227.
Amyntas the pancratiast, ii. 86.
Amythaon, the son of Cretheus, restored the Olympic games, ii. 19.
Anacharsis, i. 58.
Anacreon, i. 4. 65.
Anactes, the gods called, various opinions of, iii. 190.
Anapæsti, verses so called, i. 351.

Anaphlystus the son of Trœzen, i. 209.
Anauchidas, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 112.
Anauchidas, the Elean pugilist, ii. 116.
Anax, the son of Earth, i. 98.
——, a king of the Milesians, ii. 150.
Anaxagoras, the son of Argeus, i. 171.
Anaxander, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 77.
——, king of the Spartans, i. 352.
——, the son of Eurycrates, i. 237.
Anaxandrides the son of Leon, i. 239.
Anaxandrus, the son of Eurycrates, and king of the Spartans, i. 350.
Anaxias, i. 285.
Anaxibia, i. 203.
Anyxidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, and king of the Spartans, i. 249. 350.
Anaxilas, i. 372.
Anaximenes the sophist, a statue of, &c. ii. 122.
Anaximpus Mendæus, ii. 68.
Anaxirhoe, the daughter of Coronus, ii. 2.
Ancæus, the son of Neptune, ii. 156.
——, the son of Lycurgus, ii. 233.
Ancasius, the architect, iii. 21.
Anchialus, a picture of, iii. 158.
Anchionis the Lacedæmonian, i. 270.
Ancient, a Spartan town so called, i. 297.
Andania, a Messenian city, i. 312.
——, *the ruins of, i. 399.*
Andræmon, ii. 7.
——, the son of Codrus, ii. 154.
Andreas, the statuary, ii. 117.
Andreis, the city, iii. 74.
Andreus, a statue of, iii. 121.
——, the son of the river Peneus, iii. 71.
Andriscus, the son of Perseus, ii. 180.
Androclea, iii. 83.
Androcles, i. 323. 347. 358.
Androclides, i. 256.
Androclus the son of Codrus, the transactions of, ii. 151.
Andromache, a picture of, iii. 155.
Andropompus, iii. 18.
Androsthenes, the pancratiast, ii. 90.
Androtion, the Attic historian, iii. 107.
Angelion, the statuary, i. 214. iii. 73.
Angelus, the son of Neptune, ii. 158.
Anger of the gods, what it signifies, iii. 279.
Anigræa, the town, i. 229.
Anigrus, the river, ii. 11. 12.
Anochus, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 112.
Antagoras, i. 4.
Antalcidas the Spartan, iii. 2.
Antander, i. 329.
Antenor the statuary, i. 21.
Anteros the dæmon, remarkable story of, iii. 223.
Anthan, the son of Neptune, iii. 44.
Anthas, a king of the Trœzenians, i. 208.
Anthea, the city, i. 208.
Anthedon, the city, iii. 44.
——, the nymph, iii. 44.
Antheus, a statue of Bacchus so called, ii. 202.
Anthracia, an Arcadian nymph, a statue of, ii. 293.
Anticlea, the daughter of Diocles, i. 391.
——, the mother of Ulysses, a picture of, iii. 163.
Antimachus the poet, a verse of, ii. 277.
——, verse of, ii. 278.
Antiochus, king, sacred gifts of, ii. 30.
Anticyra, a city of Phocis, ii. 166.
Anticyreus, iii. 185.
Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, i. 218.
—— wars on the Athenians, i. 246.
Antilochus, ii. 203.
——, *a picture of, iii. 164.*
Antimachus, a verse of, ii. 278. iii. 73.
Antimenes, i. 201.
Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus, ii. 241.
Antiochus, i. 324. iii. 139.
—— the Sicilian historian, iii. 116.
—— a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 82.
Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, i. 140.
——, a statue of, i. 152.
—— the Amazon, monument of, i. 4.
—— slain by Molpadia, i. 4.
Antipater, i. 67. ii. 172.
—— the son of Cassander, iii. 15.
—— a victor in boxing in the Olympic games, ii. 79.
Antiphanes the statuary, ii. 44. iii. 111. 118.
Antiphemus, ii. 324.
Antiphilus the architect, ii. 124.
Antipœnus, iii. 33.
Antitheus, the Athenian archon, ii. 189.
Antoninus the emperor, ii. 319.
——, instance of the liberality of, ii. 320.

Antonius, a senator, the works of, i. 199.
Anyte, a woman renowned for composing verses, iii. 192.
Anytus, one of the Titans, ii. 305.
Aones, the, iii. 9.
Aoris, the son of Aras, i. 158.
Apelles, ii. 77. iii. 74.
Aphareus, the son of Perieris, i. 232.
Aphetæ, a road in Sparta, why so called, i. 263.
Aphetæus, the statue of, i. 268.
Aphidas, the son of Arcas, ii. 231.
Aphrodisias, the city, i. 298 ii. 253.
Aphrodisium, ii. 321.
Aphytis, a town in Pallene, i. 283.
Apobathmi, or the landing-place, i. 229.
Apœcus colonized the Iones, ii. 154.
Apollo Agyieus, a statue of, i. 176. ii. 296.
———, a brazen statue of, ii. 290,
———, why called Alexicacus, iii. 198.
——— Amyclean, i. 347.
——— Bœdromian, a statue of, iii. 38.
——— Carneus, i. 267.
——— Carynus, the pyramid, i. 121.
——— Clarius, a brazen statue of, i. 131.
——— Dionysidotus, iii. 227.
——— Diradiotes, the statue of, i. 188.
——— Epicurius, ii. 309.
——— Ismenios, iii. 19.
——— Maleatas, i. 265.
——— Patrous, picture of, i. 8.
——— Alexicacus, picture of, i. 8.
——— Polios, iii. 23.
——— Pythian, a statue of, i. 259.
——— Amyclæus, a statue of, i. 259.
——— why called Tutelaris, iii. 251.
——— what is meant by his once having laid his harp on a stone, iii. 249.
——— why represented treading on the head of an ox, iii. 299.
Apollonius the grammarian, his remarkable account of large dead bodies, iii. 241.
——— an Alexandrian pugilist, ii. 57.
——— the Olympic pugilist, ii. 58.
——— Rhodius, lines of, i. 158.
Apollophanes the Arcadian, i. 196.
Appius Claudius, the Roman, ii. 170.
Apuleius, extract from the Metamorphoses of, iii. 258.
Arabian Nights' Entertainments, one of the stories in the, taken with some alteration out of Pausanias, iii. 278.
Arœthyrea, the daughter of Aras, i. 158.
Arainus, a place so called in Sparta, i. 304.
Arantinus, a hill so called, i. 158.
Aras, the first native of Phliasia, i. 157.
Aratus the Sicyonian, memorable transactions of, i. 146. 147.
——— the general of the Sicyonians, ii. 247.
——— the son of Clinias, image of, i. 144.
———, a statue of, ii. 106.
——— the son of Æsculapius, i. 152.
——— Solensis, i. 5.
Araxus, the promontory, ii. 146.
Arcadia, the topography of, ii. 225.
Arcadians, the, justly punished for deserting the Greeks, ii. 185.
———, particulars of the kingdom of the, to the destruction of the empire, ii. 233—256.
———, transactions of, in different wars, ii. 236—237.
——— migrated into Megalopolis on account of its strength, ii. 281.
Arcas, the son of Callisto, ii. 230.
——— Samolas, the statuary, iii. 111.
Arcesilaus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 78.
——— the painter, i. 2.
Archæa, the city, ii. 158.
Archander, the son of Achæus, ii. 148.
Archegetes, a statue so called, i. 116.
Archelaus, the son of Agesilaus, i. 235.
Archias, the son of Aristæchmus, i. 196.
Archidamus the son of Anaxidamus, and king of Sparta, i. 249.
———, and king of Sparta, very much injured the country of the Athenians, i. 250.
———, the transactions of, i. 258—259.
———, a statue of, ii. 87.
——— the son of Agesilaus, a statue of, ii. 115.
——— the son of Theopompus, i. 249.
——— a wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 76.
Archidius, ii. 379.
Archilochus the poet, ii. 173. iii. 160. 169.
Archimagoras, the daughter of Phillus, ii. 252.

Archimedes, the Athenian archon, i. 375.
Archippus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 113.
Archirhoe, ii. 293.
Architeles, ii. 148.
Archon Eponymus, the meaning of, iii. 274.
Ardalus, the son of Vulcan, the architect, according to the Trœzenians, invented the pipe, i. 210.
Ardys, the son of Gyges, i. 374.
Areas, ii. 2.
Arene, the fountain, ii. 12.
———, the ruins of, ii. 13.
Areopagus, i. 76.
Arethusa, ii. 16.
Areus, king of the Spartans, a statue of, ii. 115.
———, the father of Agenor, ii. 194.
———, the son of Acroatus, i. 246.
———, a statue of, i. 106.
——— the poet, i. 268.
Argalus, the son of Amyclas, i. 232.
Argeus, i. 201.
Argius, ii. 46.
Argives, the only Grecians who were divided into three kingdoms, i. 171.
———, the, from the earliest period were advocates for liberty and laws of their own making, i. 174.
——— historians, not ignorant that some of their relations are false, i. 188.
Argives subverted the kingdom of the Tirynthians, i. 193.
Argos, a plain in Arcadia, ii. 238.
Argyra, ii. 22.
Aria, a part of Asia, once so called, i. 133.
Ariadne, a picture of, iii. 162.
Aridæus, ii. 239.
Arieus, i. 135.
Arimaspi, the, i. 64. iii. 226.
Arimnestus, a statue of, iii. 8.
Arimnus, king of the Etrusci, a throne of, ii. 31.
Arion, the harper, a statue of, i. 307. iii. 59.
——, the horse, ii. 278.
Aris, the river, i. 392.
Aristæus, the son of Apollo, iii. 129.
Aristander the Parian, the statuary, i. 284.
Aristandrea, an Arcadian porch, ii. 292.
Aristarchus, the Olympic historian, ii. 53.
Aristas, ii. 278.
Aristeas, the Proconnesian poet, ii. 18.
———, the victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, ii. 57.
Aristera, the island, i. 220.
Aristides, a victor in the Olympic armed race, ii. 116.
Aristion, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 108.
Aristo, the son of Agasicles, i. 249.
Aristocles Cydionates, the statuary, ii. 65. 69.
Aristocrates, the son of Æchmis, ii. 235.
———, king of the Arcadians, corrupted by the Lacedæmonians, i. 356.
———, shameful conduct of, i. 357.
———, stoned to death by the Arcadians for his treachery, i. 370.
Aristodama, the mother of Aratus, i. 152.
Aristodemus, king of the Messenians, i. 232.
———, hindered from sacrificing his daughter, i. 336.
——— dejected by prodigies, i. 345.
———, death of, i. 346.
———, the wrestler, ii. 81.
———, king of the Megalopolitans, ii. 284.
Aristogiton, i. 59.
———, the statuary, iii. 114.
Aristomache, a picture of, iii. 155.
Aristomachus, ii. 133.
Aristomedes, the statuary, iii. 50.
Aristomedon, the statuary, iii. 92.
Aristomelidas, ii. 327.
Aristomenes, the Rhodian victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, ii. 57.
———, the Messenian, i. 325.
———, was honoured by the Messenians as a hero, i. 348.
———, instigates the better sort of Messenians to revolt, i. 349.
———, the transactions of, in the battle at Dera, i. 350.
———, in the battle near the tomb of Carpus, is surrounded by eighty chosen Messenians of the same age with himself, i. 352.
——— puts the Lacedæmonians to flight, i. 353.

Aristomenes is recalled from his pursuit of the Spartans, by Theoclus, i. 353.
———— loses his shield, i. 353.
———— returns in triumph to Andania, i. 353.
———— ascends into the adytum of Trophonius, and finds his shield, i. 354.
———— marches to Pharis, which he sacks, i. 354.
———— overthrows the Lacedæmonians, and pursues their king Anaxander, i. 354.
———— is wounded in his thigh, i. 354.
———— is deterred from marching into Sparta, by seeing the spectres of Helen and the Dioscuri, i. 354.
———— attacks in open day the Caryan virgins, i. 355.
———— is taken prisoner by the women of Ægila, i. 355.
———— is rescued by Archidamea, i. 355.
———— retreats to the mountain Isa, i. 358.
———— plunders the Lacedæmonians, i. 358.
———— is struck to the ground, and taken prisoner by the Lacedæmonians, i. 359.
———— is thrown into the Ceadas, a deep cavern, but is miraculously saved, i. 359.
———— afterwards attacks and slays many of the forces of the Corinthians, i. 361.
———— offers a sacrifice called Hecatomphonia, to Jupiter Ithomatas, i. 361.
———— is taken prisoner by seven Cretan archers, but is released by a virgin, in consequence of a dream, i. 361.
———— buries in Ithome something belonging to arcane mysteries, i. 363.
———— forces a passage through the Spartans, and escapes, i. 363.
———— stratagem of, i. 369.
———— appoints Gorgus and Manticlus to be leaders of the Messenians at Cyllene, i. 371.
———— dies in Rhodes, i. 374.
Aristomenidas, i. 254.
Ariston, the seventh grandson of Theopompus, i. 350.
Aristonauta a haven of the Pelleneans, i. 157.
Aristonous, the statuary, ii. 60.
Aristophanes, ii. 11.
————, the poet, a citation from the Scholiast on, iii. 283.
Aristophon, a victorious pancratiast in the Olympic games, ii. 110.
Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, reigned in Elea, ii. 10.
Aristotle the Stagirite, a statue of, ii. 86.
Armour, to put on, called by the ancients begirding, iii. 33.
Army, the first that left Greece, led by Œnotrus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 230.
Aroanius, the river, ii. 267.
Aroeus, a statue of Bacchus so called, ii. 202.
Arpinna, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 61.
Arrhachion the pancratiast, a statue of, ii. 312.
Arrhon, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.
Arriphon, said to have instituted the Lernæan mysteries, i. 227.
Arse, the river, ii. 276.
Arsinoites, an Egyptian tribe so called, ii. 58.
Artemidorus Trallianus, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 110.
Artemisia, a statue of, i. 261.
Artontes, the son of Mardonius, iii. 4.
Asamon, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Asæa, the city, 229.
Ascalaphus, the son of Mars, iii. 78.
Ascarus, the statuary, ii. 64.
Asclepius Trallianus, the etymon of wisdom of, from his MSS. Schol. on the arithmetic of Nicomachus, iii. 215.
Asea, ii. 229.
Asinæi, the, i. 347. 437.
Asine, an Argive town, besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, i. 225.
Aslus, the poet, i. 141. 203. 331, ii. 45. 156. iii. 46.
————, verses of, ii. 226.
Asopus, a king of the Platæenses, iii. 1.
————, the river, i. 137.
————, daughters of, i. 137.
————, the banks of, produce large bulrushes, ii. 36.
————, the city, i. 298.
Aspledon, the city, iii. 80.

Aspledon, the son of Neptune, iii. 80.
Asterion, the river, i. 168.
———, the statuary, ii. 81.
———, the son of Cometas, ii. 46.
———, the son of Anax, ii. 150.
———, the son of Minos, slain by Theseus, i. 210.
Asterius, the island, i. 98.
Asterodia, the wife of Endymion, ii. 2.
Asteus, the Athenian Archon, i. 215. iii. 3.
Astrya, i. 144.
Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, ii. 24.
Astylus, a victor in the Olympic repeated course, ii. 107.
Astynous, a picture of, iii. 156.
Astypalæa, the daughter of Phœnix, ii. 156.
Atalanta, i. 302. ii. 49.
———, the curricula of, ii. 301.
Athamas, the son of Œnopion, ii. 158. iii. 71.
Athamantios, the plain, iii. 46.
Athenæ, a Bœotian city, iii. 47.
Athenæum, ii. 321.
Atheuæus, iii. 199.
———, the Ephesian pugilist, ii. 85.
Athene, the town, i. 230.
Athenian islands, an account of, i. 96. 97.
Athenians surpassed other nations in piety to the gods, i. 42.
Athera, i. 222.
Athletæ, the inhabitants of, in Olympia, ii. 131.
Athmonensians, palace of, i. 39.
Atilius, the Roman general, ii. 166.
Atlas, the great height of, successfully employed by Proclus as an argument for the truth of the Platonic theory of the earth, iii. 235.
———, the magnitude of, according to the Æthiopian historians, iii. 236.
Atreus, the sons of, a picture of, iii. 156.
Attaginus, the Theban, ii. 172.
Attalus, greatest exploit of, i. 19.
——— and Ptolemy, the transactions of, i. 14—17.
———, king of Pergamus, iii. 126.
Attes, the history of, according to the Gauls, ii. 191.
Atthis, i. 6.
Attes and Dindymene, the fable of, explained, iii. 298.
Auge, the daughter of Aleus, ii. 232.
———, a picture of, iii. 161.
Augeas, the son of Eleus, ii. 3.
Augustus, in the Greek tongue, signifies venerable, i. 261.
——— Cæsar, i. 310. 312. 390. 392.
———, statue of, ii. 31.
——— laid waste Calydon and the other parts of Ætolia, ii. 194.
——— caused Patræ to be reinhabited, ii. 194.
——— subverted the country of the Ætolians, in order to people Nicopolis, iii. 189.
Aulis, the city, iii. 38.
Autesion, the son of Tisamenus, iii. 13.
Autolycus, the pancratiast, iii. 67.
———, the son of Mercury, ii. 232.
Automate, the daughter of Danaus, ii. 148.
Autonoe, i. 122.
———, the symbolical signification of, iii. 250.
Autosthenes, the Athenian archon, i. 372.
Auxesia, i. 207.
Auxo, one of the Graces, according to the Athenians, iii. 72.
Axeus, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.
Axion, a picture of, iii. 158.
———, the son of Phegeus, ii. 275.
Azan, the son of Arcas, ii. 231.

B.

Bacchæ, statues of, i. 144.
Baccheus, a statue so called, i. 130. 144.
Bacchiadæ, Corinthian kings so called, i. 135.
Bacchis, the son of Prumnis, i. 135.
Bacchus Cephallen, a brazen image of the head of, iii. 135.
——— Dasyllius, i. 119.
———, why represented holding a torch, iii. 194.
———, why called Melpomenos, iii. 194.
——— the Saviour, a wooden statue of, i. 227.
———, the meaning of the fable of, in which he is said to have led back Vulcan to heaven, iii. 206.
———, why called Nyctelius, iii. 247.
———, why called Psila, or wings, iii. 278.
———, the, who first led an army to

the Indies, not a god, but a hero, iii. 210.
Bacis, the wrestler, ii. 97.
——, the prophet, predictions of, i. 382.
——————, was inspired by a nymph, iii. 120.
——, the oracle of, iii. 171.
Balanagræ, a people belonging to the Cyrenæans, i. 196.
Balyra, the river, i. 399.
Banchidæ, ii. 17.
Bannier, the Abbé, his impudent manner of explaining the fable of the Minotaur, iii. 290.
Basilis, the city, ii. 289.
Bathicles Magnensius, the statuary, i. 284.
Bathos, a place in Arcadia, ii. 288.
Baths, Corinthian, i. 132.
Bathyllus, the fountain, ii. 294.
Baton, ii. 45.
——, a statue of, iii. 113.
Battles of the gods, the meaning of the, iii. 253.
Battus Theræus, i. 270.
——, a statue of, iii. 126.
Bears, white, ii. 262.
Bed chamber, a brazen one, among the Argives, i. 188.
Bees, Halizonian, i. 88.
Belemina, the city, ii. 330.
Belistiche, victor in the Olympic race with two mules, ii. 21.
Bellerophon, i. 134. 212.
Beloe, Mr. extract from his translation of Herodotus, iii. 234.
Belus, the son of Libye, i. 373.
Bias, a king of the Argives, i. 172.
——, the son of Amythaon, i. 401.
——, Prienensis, iii. 150.
Biblis, the fountain, ii. 161.
Bidiææ, the palace of, i. 264.
Bidiæi, the Spartan, i. 260.
Bison, the Pæonian bull, the manner of hunting of, iii. 120.
Biton, a statue of, i. 175.
Boagrius, the river, ii. 60.
Boars, white, ii. 262.
Boeæ, a city of the Eleutherolacones, i. 295.
——, the city, i. 298.
Boeo, the poetess, verses of, iii. 101.
Bœotus, the son of Itonus, iii. 1.
Boethus, the statuary, ii. 44.
Boeus, one of the sons of Hercules, i. 298.
Bolei, the, heaps of chosen stones so called, i. 225.
Bolgius, the Gallic general, iii. 136.
Bolina, the city, ii. 208.
Bolinæus, the river, ii. 208.
Booneta, a place in Sparta so called, i. 264.
Boreas, ii. 49.
Bouleuterion, the Arcadian, ii. 292.
Branchyllides, a Bœotian chief, iii. 26.
Brasiæ, a city of the Eleutherolacones, i. 295.
Brass, why dedicated in particular to Dodonæan Jupiter, iii. 300.
——, why called vocal by Homer, iii. 300.
——, according to the Pythagoreans, accords with every diviner spirit, iii. 300.
Brauron, the town, i. 91.
Brennus, the Gallic general, iii. 136.
Brenthe, the city, ruins of, ii. 287.
Brentheates, the river, ii. 15.
Brigantians, the, in Britannia, ii. 319.
Brimias, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Brisa, the town, i. 290.
Briseis, a picture of, iii. 153.
Britomartis, the offspring of Jupiter and Carme, the daughter of Eubulus, i. 207.
————, what a compound of, iii. 275.
Broteas, the son of Tantalus, the statuary, i. 297.
Bryas, the injudicious conduct of, i. 177.
Bryaxis, the statuary, i. 111.
Bucephala, the promontory, i. 220.
Bucolion, the son of Læas, ii. 234.
Bulis, the city, iii. 187.
Bulls, Pæonian, iii. 41.
Bunus, the son of Mercury, i. 137.
Bupalus, the architect and statuary, i. 392. iii. 74.
Buphagium, ii. 281.
Buphagus, the river, ii. 16.
————, the hero, the son of Japetus and Thornax, ii. 286.
Buphonus, a priest so called, i. 63.
Bura, an Achaian city, ii. 162.
——, the daughter of Ion, ii. 216.
Buraicus, the river, ii. 217.
Butas, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 119.
Bycellus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 108.
Byzas, ii. 23.

C.

Cabiri, the, the same with the Curetes, according to their mundane subsistence, iii. 311.
Cabirian Ceres and Proserpine, a grove of, iii. 49.
Cachales, the river, iii. 172.
Cadmea, the city, iii. 9.
Cadmus, i. 233.
———, the symbolical signification of, iii. 250.
———, the meaning of the marriage of, with Harmonia, iii. 308.
Cænepolis, the town of, 295. 307.
Cagaco, the fountain, i. 304.
Caicus, the river, ii. 232.
Caius, the Roman emperor, iii. 53.
Calamæ, the village, i. 393.
Calamis, the statuary, i. 152. ii. 68. 71. iii. 31. 39. 42. 127.
Calaurea, the island, i. 216. iii. 100.
Calchas, ii. 155.
Callias, the son of Lysimachides, iii. 132.
———, the Olympic pancratiast, ii. 22.
Callicles, the statuary, ii. 93.
Callicrates caused the Achaians, through prodition, to become subject to the Romans, ii. 173.
———, a victor in the armed course in the Olympic games, ii. 121.
Callignotus, ii. 294.
Callimachus, the statuary, i. 70. iii. 5.
———, extract from the hymn of, to Apollo, iii. 295.
Callipatira, ii. 15.
Calliphæa, the Nymph, ii. 136.
Calliphon, the painter, iii. 157.
Callippus, the historian, iii. 56.
Callirhoe, the fountain, ii. 202.
———, the daughter of Achelous, ii. 275.
Callis, the pancratiast, ii. 90.
Callistephanos, the name of a wild olive-tree in Olympia, ii. 38.
Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, i. 65. ii. 230.
———— a picture of, iii. 168.
Callistronicus, the statuary, iii. 81.
Calliteles, the statuary, ii. 74.
———, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Callon Æginetis, the statuary, i. 214. 284. ii. 68. 74.
Callon, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 106.
Calynthus, the statuary, iii. 122.
Calyphon, the painter, ii. 49.
Cambaules, the Gallic general, iii. 135.
Camels, Indian, iii. 41.
Camiro, the daughter of Pandarus, a picture of, iii. 164.
Canachus, the statuary. i. 152. ii. 108. 195. iii. 20. 112.
Canephoræ, virgins so called, i. 71.
———, why so called, iii. 220.
Cantharus, the statuary, ii. 82.
Capaneus, the son of Hipponous, iii. 18.
Capetus, ii. 133.
Caphya, the city, ii. 254.
Caprificus, i. 104.
Caprus, the wrestler and pancratiast, ii. 114, 115.
Car, the son of Phoroneus, i. 108.
Caranus, king of Macedonia, iii. 87.
Cardamyle, i. 310.
Cardan Hieronymus, i. 24. 36.
Cares, the, ii. 151.
Caria, the tower, i. 111.
Carnalis, the city, iii. 131.
Carnasium, a town of the Messenians, ii. 299.
Carnasius, the grove, i. 399.
Carneus, i. 267.
Carnion, the river, ii. 299.
Carnius, a grove of Apollo, near Pharæ, i. 392.
Carpeia, a city of Iberia, ii. 123.
Carpus, a name of one of the seasons, iii. 72.
Caryæ, i. 259.
Cassander, i. 67.
———— rebuilt Thebes, through his hatred of Alexander, iii. 15.
———— deservedly punished for his guilty conduct, iii. 15.
Cassandra, ii. 50.
———, a picture of, iii. 156.
Cassotis, the fountain, iii. 152.
Castalia, the water of, iii. 109.
Castalius, iii. 103.
Castorides, gates so called in Sparta, i. 296.
Catalogue of women, the, a poem, said to be written by Hesiod, i. 305.
Catreus, ii. 338.
Caucon, the son of Celainus, i. 313.
Cavern under the Athenian tower, and its contents, i. 54.

Caunius Protogenes, the painter, i. 9.
Cayster, the river, ii. 151.
Cecrops, i. 6. ii. 227.
Cecyrina, an Achaian city, ii. 162.
Celadus, the river, ii. 309.
Celænæ, the town, i. 158.
Celbidas, according to some the founder of Tritia, ii. 206.
Celeæ, a place among the Phliasians, in which the mysteries of Ceres are celebrated, i. 162.
Celenderis, the town, i. 215.
Celeuthea, a statue so called by Ulysses, i. 264.
Cenchreæ, i. 129. 190.
Cenchreas, i. 129.
Cenchrius, the river, ii. 161.
Cephalenia, i. 103.
Cephalen the harper, iii. 105.
Cephalus, i. 102. 256.
Cepheus, the son of Aleus, ii. 232.
Cephisidorus, the general of the Athenian horse, ii. 245.
Cephisodotus, the statuary, ii. 292. iii. 31. 59.
Cephissodotus, the Bœotian commander, iii. 139.
Cephissis, the lake, iii. 46. 80.
Cephissus, the river, i. 105. iii. 46.
Ceramicus, i. 5.
Cerberus, what is signified by Hercules dragging him up from Hades, iii. 277.
Cercyon, i. 107.
———, the palæstra of, i. 107.
Ceres, why called Anesidora, iii. 228.
——, beautiful account of, from the MSS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, iii. 228.
——, black, a statue of, ii. 235.
———, a sacred cavern of, ii. 315.
—— Cidaria, an effigy of, ii. 258.
——, why called Chthonia, iii. 272.
—— called Erinnys by the Thelpusii, ii. 278.
—— called Lusia by the Arcadians, ii. 278.
——, why called Thesmophoros, iii. 226.
Ceressus, the town, iii. 28.
Cerethrius, the Gallic general, iii. 136.
Cerynea, the town, ii. 216.
Cerynes, i. 200.
Cerynites, the river, ii. 216.
Ceyx, i. 90.
Chæreas, the Sicyonian pugilist, ii. 81.
Chalcitis, a place so called in Erythræ, ii. 161.
Chalcedon, ii. 133.
Chaldæans and Magi, the first that asserted the soul of man was immortal, i. 397.
Chaos, why said by Hesiod to be the first thing that was generated, iii. 313.
Characoma, a place so called in Sparta, i. 298.
Charadra, the city, iii. 95. 176.
Charadrus, the torrent, i. 191. 399. ii. 207. iii. 176.
Charilaus, i. 235.
Charillus, the son of Polydectes, i. 248.
———— led an army against the Tegeatæ, ii. 235.
Charmidas, the son of Euthys, i. 236.
Charinus, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 114.
Charisia, the city, ii. 229.
Charisius, ii. 229.
Charon, the ferryman of Hades, a picture of, iii. 160.
———, the son of Pytheus, iii. 191.
Chartas, the statuary, ii. 85.
Cherronesus, ii. 65.
Chersias the poet, verses of, iii. 80.
Chest in the temple of Juno, description of the, ii. 44.
Chii, the particulars of, according to the poet Ion, ii. 157.
Children, how justly punished for the crimes of their parents, iii. 266.
Chilon, ii. 10.
———— Achæus, the wrestler, ii. 86. 163.
———, the Spartan, iii. 150.
Chimarrus, the river, i. 226.
Chione, i. 104.
Chionis, Laco, i. 404.
Chionis, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 372.
Chios, a city of the Iones, ii. 156.
Chirisophus, the statuary, ii. 380.
Chiron the centaur, of what the emblem, iii. 276.
Chius composed a hymn to Opportunity, ii. 37.
Chloris, the statue of, i. 182.
———, a picture of, iii. 162.
Chœrilus, the statuary, ii. 119.
Chœrius, the grove, i. 390.
Chryse, the daughter of Halmus, ii. 74.
Chryses, the son of Neptune, iii. 75.
Chrysis, the priest of Juno, i. 170.

Chrysogenea, the daughter of Halmus, iii. 74. 75.
Chrysorrhoas, the river, i. 213.
Chrysothemis, the statuary, ii. 101.
———, the son of Carmanor, iii. 105.
Cicero, iii. 274.
Cillas, ii. 26.
Cimon, the son of Miltiades, found the bones of Theseus, i. 238.
———, an invention of, ii. 241.
Cinæthon, the poet, ii. 338.
———, the Lacedæmonian, who genealogized in verse, i. 134.
Circe, ii. 51.
——, an account of, from the MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylus, iii. 287.
Cirrha, a haven of the Delphi, iii. 90. 109. 187.
———, the nymph, iii. 188.
Cissa, the fountain, ii. 252.
Cissæa, a wooden statue of Minerva so called, i. 202.
Cisseus, iii. 87.
Cisus, i. 194. 200.
Cithæron, a king of the Platæenses, iii. 1. 5.
———, the mountain, i. 105.
Cithæronius, a lion so called, i. 112.
Cities, the names of the, that fought against Mardonius and the Medes at Platæa, ii. 61.
——, the names of, which were persuaded by the Arcadians to choose for themselves new habitations, ii. 282.
—— that have been irreparably injured through the baseness of their inhabitants, instances of, iii. 175.
Cladeus, the river, a representation of, ii. 24.
Clazomenæ, the city, ii. 155.
Clearchus, the statuary, ii. 85.
Clearestus, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 118.
Cleobis and Biton, statues of, i. 177.
Cleobœa, a picture of, iii. 160.
Cleobulus, the Lindian, iii. 150.
Cleodice, a picture of, iii. 156.
Cleœtas, the statuary, i. 63.
———, the first that framed the barriers for the Olympic games, ii. 129.
Cleogenes, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 77.
Cleolas, ii. 59.
Cleolaus, ii. 282.
Cleombrotus, king of the Lacedæmonians, attacks the Bœotians at Leuctra, i. 245.
Cleomedes, the pugilist, ii. 99.
Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, disposition of, i. 148.
———, war about Silasia, flight and death of, i. 149.
———, the son of Anaxandrides, makes an incursion into Argolis, i. 239.
——— passes into Ægina, i. 240.
——— accused by Demaratus, i. 240.
——— dies insane, i. 240.
——— the younger son of Cleombrotus, i. 245.
Cleon, the statuary, ii. 44. 55. 77. 83. 97. 98. 102.
——, the Magnesian, iii. 98.
Cleonæ, an Argolic city, i. 163.
Cleonnis, i. 334.
Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes, i. 245. 385.
Cleopatra, the daughter of Idas, i. 316.
Cleopompus, iii. 103.
Cleopus, the son of Codrus, ii. 155.
Cleosthenes, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 101.
Cleostratus, the destroyer of a dragon that infested the city Thespia, iii. 52.
Clepsydra, the fountain, i. 398.
Cleso, i. 117.
Cleson, i. 108.
Climax, a place in Arcadia, ii. 237.
Clinomachus, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 114.
Clisthenes, i. 150.
———, a victor in the Pythian chariot-race, iii. 106.
Clisthenia, a porch so called, i. 150.
Clitodemus, the Attic historian, iii. 126.
Clitomachus, a famous victor in the Olympic games, ii. 114.
Clitor, the son of Azan, ii. 231.
——, the city, ii. 263.
Clymene, a picture of, iii. 155. 163.
Clymenus, the son of Presbon, iii. 76.
———, the son of Cardis, established games in Olympia, ii. 18.
Clytie, the daughter of Pandarus, a picture of, iii. 164.
Cocalus, king of Inycus, ii. 157.
Coccos, the bramble, called by the Gauls Us, iii. 184.
Cock, the, a bird sacred to the sun, iii. 291.

Cocks, Tanagræan, called Cossuphoi, or black birds, iii. 43.
Cocytus, i. 43.
Codrus, i. 107.
———, the son of Melanthus, ii. 336.
Coerius, the thicket, i. 312.
Colias, promontory of, i. 3.
Colœnus, i. 402.
Colœnis, a statue of, i. 87.
Colonides, the, i. 402.
Colonœ, a Trojan town, iii. 123.
Colontas, i. 222.
Colophonians, the, sacrifice a canine whelp to Enodian Hecate, i. 272.
———, warred on the Macedonians, ii. 154.
Colossal statue in Thebes of a very singular nature, i. 115.
Colotes, the, made a table of ivory and gold for the temple of Juno, among the Eleans, ii. 52.
Comætho the priestess, ii. 196.
Combutis, a commander of the Gauls, unparalleled cruelty of, iii. 144.
Cometus, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 162.
Comosandalus, the flower, i. 223.
Conchites, the stone, i. 122.
Condyleæ, a place in Arcadia, ii. 272.
Conon, the son of Timotheus, i. 63. 254. ii. 337.
———, a dream of, i. 379.
Consolatrix, the goddess, a statue of, 119.
Constellation, called the Goat, injurious to vines, i. 160.
Coos, the island of, i. 301.
Copæ, the city, iii. 47.
Corcyra, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 61.
Corcyraica, a porch so called by the Eleans, ii. 140.
Coresus, a priest of Bacchus, remarkable story of, ii. 201.
Corinna, the poetess, iii. 39.
——— vanquished Pindar at Thebes, in the composing of verses, and why she did so, iii. 43.
Corinthians, more ancient, an account of the, i. 125.
Corinthian kings, an account of, i. 145.
Corinthus, i. 135.
Corœbus, the son of Mygdon, a picture of, iii. 158.
Corone, the city, i. 401.
Coronis, a wooden statue of, i. 156.
Coronus, the son of Thersander, iii. 71.
Corsea, the town, iii. 47.
Corybas, the same with the sun, iii. 297.
Corycia, the nymph, iii. 103.
Corycium, the cavern, iii. 103. 170.
Cosmeterium, i. 144.
Costoboci, the, a band of robbers, iii. 180.
Cotyes, a porch so called, i. 199.
Cranaë, the island, i. 296.
Cranaus, i. 6.
Craneum, a grove of cypresses so called, i. 130.
Cratæmenes, the Samian, i. 373.
Crathis, the river, ii. 217.
Cratinus, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 81.
———, the statuary, ii. 98.
Cratisthenes, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 121.
Craugis, the father of Philopœmen, ii. 329.
Crauxidas, a victor with the horse in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Creon, the son of Menœceus, iii. 12.
Cresphontes, the son of Aristomachus, i. 173. 317. 390. ii. 7. 234.
Cresus, ii. 151.
Crethon, the son of Diocles, i. 391.
Creugas, the Epidamnian pugilist, particulars of, ii. 312.
Creusa, a picture of, iii. 155.
Creusis, a haven of the Thespians, iii. 65.
Crianius, a victor in the armed Olympic course, ii. 118.
Criophylus, i. 315.
Crison Himeræus, victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 62.
Crisus, the son of Phocus, i. 203.
Criterion, the, or tribunal of judgment, i. 179.
Critias, the statuary, i. 21. ii. 81.
Critobulus, iii. 139.
Critodamus, the pugilist, ii. 97.
Critolaus, i. 125.
——— persuades the Achaians to take up arms against the Romans, ii. 182.
———, the flight and death of, ii. 184.
Crius, the river, ii. 224.
———, the prophet, i. 267.
———, a king of Eubœa, iii. 104.
Croceæ, a Lacedæmonian village, i. 294.
Crocon, i. 103.

Crocon, a victor in the Olympic games with the vaulting horse, ii. 111.
Crœsus, i. 323. ii. 327.
Cromi, the city, ii. 229.
Cromion, a Corinthian town, i. 126.
Cromitis, the village, ii. 229.
Crommyonian boar, the meaning of the, iii. 220.
Cromus, ii. 229.
Cronius, ii. 133.
Crotalus, ii. 133.
Crotani, the, i. 269.
Crotoniatæ, report of the, concerning Helen, i. 289.
Crotopus, i. 119. 166.
Crows, the island of, in Arcadia, ii. 279.
Crytones, the city, iii. 47.
Cteatus, the son of Actor, ii. 130.
Ctesias, the historian, iii. 41.
Ctesippus, the son of Hercules, i. 278.
Cthonia, an appellation of Ceres, i. 222.
Cthonias, the Spartan, iii. 9.
Cuckoo, the meaning of Jupiter changing himself into a, iii. 266.
Cuma, a country belonging to the Opici, a people of Campania, ii. 206.
Curetes, the, an explanation of, iii. 285.
Cyana, the daughter of Scyllis, a statue of, iii. 134.
Cyanippus, the son of Ægialeus, i. 172. 209.
Cyathus, the boy, the wine-bearer of Œneus, i. 161.
Cyclops, the, a gate made by them, i. 167.
———, made the wall in Tiryntus, i. 167.
———, made a stone head of Medusa, i. 179.
——— built the walls of Tiryns, i. 193.
Cycniæ, eagles so called, which in their whiteness resembles swans, ii. 262.
Cycnus, the son of Neptune, i. 78. iii. 123.
———, the meaning of the metamorphoses of, into a swan, iii. 225.
Cydias, the Athenian, iii. 142.
Cydon, ii. 339.
Cydonia, the city, iii. 95.
Cydonus, a statue of, ii. 112.
Cylarabes, the son of Sthenelus, i. 172.
Cylarabus, gymnasium of, i. 185.
Cyllen, the son of Elatus, ii. 231.
Cyllenas, the son of Elatus, ii. 262.
Cyllene, the harbour of the Eleans, ii. 144.
Cylo, a brazen statue of, i. 75.
Cylon, i. 256. ii. 11.
Cymon, i. 75.
Cynæthænses, ii. 59.
———, the, ii. 266.
Cyniscа, the daughter of Archidamus, i. 251. ii. 31.
Cyniscus, the pugilist, ii. 87.
Cynurenses, the, were colonized by Cynarus the son of Perseus, i. 234.
Cyphantes, the, i. 302.
Cyprian verses, the author of the, i. 316. iii. 156.
Cypselai, chests so called by the Corinthians, ii. 45.
Cypselus, the Corinthian king, i. 136. ii. 5. 44.
Cypselus, the son of Æpytus, ii. 234.
Cyrnos, the island, iii. 130.
Cyrus the elder, deserved to be called the father of mankind, ii. 320.
Cythera, i. 299.
Cytherus, the river, ii. 136.

D.

DÆDALA, the greater and lesser, iii. 6.
Dædalus, i. 54. 71. 136. ii. 80. 84.
———, descended from that royal Athenian family, called Metionidæ, ii. 157.
Dædalus, two of the works of, iii. 85. 111.
Dæmons, καλα σχεσιν, or according to habitude, an account of, iii. 208.
Dætondas, the statuary, ii. 119.
Daimenes, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 162.
Daiphanes, iii. 92.
Daippus, the statuary, ii. 106. 117.
Damagetus, king of Ialysus, i. 374.
———, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 93.
Damascius, extract from the treatise of, on principles, iii. 306.
Damasias, the son of Penthilus, ii. 162.
Damisichthon, the son of Codrus, ii. 153.
———, a king of the Thebans, iii. 18.
Damasistratus, iii. 100.
Damacus, ii. 154.
Dameon, ii. 130.
Damias, the statuary, iii. 111.

Damis, chosen general of the Messenian forces, i. 346.
Damiscus, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 80.
Damithales, ii. 259.
Damoclidas, iii. 26.
Damocritus, ii. 180.
Damon, the Corinthian, i. 347.
———, the Thurian, i. 384.
———, the son of Euctemon, ii. 150.
Damonicus, ii. 58.
Damophilus, iii. 26.
Damophon, the statuary, i. 393. ii. 209. 305.
Damoxenidas, the pugilist, ii. 90.
Danaus, king, i. 166. 174. 263.
———, a statue of, iii. 114.
Daphne and Leucippus, the story of, ii. 266.
——— chosen by Earth priestess of the oracle of Apollo, iii. 100.
Dascylus, the village, i. 407.
Dasea, the city, ii. 229.
Datis, the Mede, iii. 160.
Daulis, the city, iii. 95.
Daulis the nymph, the daughter of Cephissus, iii. 98.
Decadarchs, the, iii. 14.
Degmenus, ii. 8.
Deidamia, the daughter of Pyrrhus, i. 405.
Deinomoe, a picture of, iii. 156.
Deioneus, i. 102.
Delphontes, the son of Antimachus, i. 174. 194.
Delion, a place in the country of the Tanagræans, iii. 39.
Delphic temple, an account of the offerings in the, iii. 110.
Delphinium, a tribunal in Attica, i. 78.
Delphos, the son of Apollo and Thyia, iii. 103.
———, the temple of, by whom plundered, iii. 104.
Delta, i. 180.
Demaratus, the son of Aristomenes, i. 350.
———, the son of Aristo, i. 249.
———, the first that conquered in the race with shields, in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
———, a victor in the armed course in the Olympic games, ii. 101.
———, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 112.
———, a victor in the armed Pythian course, iii. 106.
Demarchus, the pugilist, ii. 96.
Demarmenus, ii. 33.
Demetrius, the son of Philip, subjected Messene to the Macedonians, i. 387.
Demo, the propheteess, iii. 119.
Democles, the Athenian archon, iii. 150.
Democrates, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 118.
Democritus, the statuary, ii. 81.
Demonassa, the sister of Amphilochus, i. 275.
———, the daughter of Amphiaraus, iii. 13.
Demophon, i 77.
———, a picture of, iii. 154.
Demosthenes, statue of, &c. i. 20.
———, i. 82.
———, extract from the first oration of, against Aristogiton, iii. 246.
Deritus, ii. 194.
Derrhion, i. 292.
Despoina, a sacred grove of, ii. 306.
Dexamenus, king of the Olenians, ii. 6.
Diæus, the Megalopolitan, circumvents the Achaians, ii. 178.
Diæus, general of the Achaians, the madness of, ii. 185.
Diagon, the river, ii. 132.
Diagoras, the son of Damagetus, i. 374.
Diagoridæ, the, i. 374.
Diallus, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 108.
Diana, why represented as a huntress, iii. 206.
——— accustomed to be present at the celebration of her mysteries, iii. 294.
———, why called Ariste and Calliste, iii. 222.
——— Amarysia, i. 87.
——— Cedreatis, a statue of, ii. 254.
——— Cnagia, the particulars of, i. 283.
——— Derrhiatis, a statue of, i. 292.
——— Ephesia, a statue of, i. 130.
——— called Eurippa by Ulysses, ii. 256.
——— Isoria, i. 306.
——— Laphria, i. 394.
——— called Ephesia by all cities, i. 394.
——— Leucophryne, a brazen statue of, i. 69.
———, a statue of, i. 284.
——— Patroa, statue of, i. 150.
——— Pheræa, the statue of, i. 187.
——— the Saviour, a grove of, ii. 222.
——— Taurica, a statue of, i. 61.
Dicæarchia, a city near the Tyrrhene sea, ii. 238.

Dicon, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 83.
Didas, the Olympic pugilst, ii. 58.
Didymæ, the city, iii. 116.
Diitrephes, a brazen statue of, i. 59.
Dindymene and Attys, the fable of, explained, iii. 298.
Dine, the town, ii. 238.
Dinocrates, ii. 335.
Dinolochus, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 77.
Dinomenes, the son of Hiero, ii. 107. 317.
Dinosthenes, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 117.
Diocles, i. 391.
Diogenes, iii. 139.
Diogenea, i. 104.
Diomed, the statue of, i. 178.
——— first instituted Pythian games in honour of Apollo, i. 213.
———, a statue of, iii. 114.
Dionysiada, the fountain, i. 409.
Dionysiades, the, i. 268.
Dionysicles, the statuary, ii. 18.
Dionysius, the statuary, ii. 72.
Diophanes, the son of Diæus, ii. 291.
Diophantus, the Athenian archon, ii. 323.
Diores, the son of Amarynceus, ii. 7.
Dios, the city, iii. 61.
Dioscuri, the, remarkable story of, i. 277.
———, brazen statues of, i. 308.
———, said by the Messenians, to be born in their city, i. 394.
———, a grove of, ii. 206.
Dipœnus, the statuary, i. 164. 185. 214. ii. 44. 126.
Dirce, the wife of Lycus, iii. 34.
——, the river, iii. 48.
Disponteus, the son of Œnomaus, ii. 135.
Divination by oracles, beautiful explanation of, from Jamblichus De Mysteriis, iii. 318.
Dius, ii. 8.
Dodd, Dr. extract from his elegant translation of Callimachus' hymn to Apollo, iii. 295.
Dodona, an account of the oracle of, iii. 301.
Dontas, the statuary, ii. 126.
Donussa, the city, ii. 221.
Doridas, i. 135.
Dorienses, the return of the, into Peloponnesus, ii. 233.
Dorieus, the son of Anaxandrides, i. 239.
Dorieus, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 93.
Dorius, the city, ruins of, i. 400.
Dorycleii, exiles so called, i. 111.
Doryclidas, the statuary, ii. 44.
Doryssus, i. 235.
Dotadas, the son of Isthmius, i. 319.
Draco, the Athenian lawgiver, iii. 76.
Dragons, sacred to Æsculapius, i. 200.
Dragons, why sacred to Æsculapius, iii. 264.
Dragon, the meaning of a child being changed into one, iii. 294.
Drepanon, the promontory, ii. 209.
Dromeus, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 95.
———, a place so called in Sparta, i. 270.
Dropion, the son of Deon, iii. 120.
Drymea, the city, iii. 95. 178.
Dryopes, the, i. 331.
Durateus, the horse, the head of, a picture of, iii. 156.
Duris, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 108.
Durius, a brazen horse so called, i. 61.
———, the horse, ii. 112.
Dyme, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 190.
Dymas, the son of Ægimius, ii. 190.
Dysaules, the brother of Celeus, i. 162.
Dyscinetus, the Athenian archon, i. 384.

E.

Earth, an opening of, into which the water ran after the deluge of Deucalion, i. 46.
———, why called a mighty goddess, iii. 227.
———, the summit of the, according to Homer and Plato, ethereal, iii. 227.
Earthquakes, previous signals of, given by divinity, and what these signals are, ii. 212.
Ebony, account of, from a Cyprian botanist, i. 116.
Echetratides, iii. 128.
Echedamia, the city, iii. 95.
Echembrotus, the piper, iii. 105.
Echemus, the son of Æropus, i. 112. ii. 233.
Echephron, the son of Hercules, ii. 273.
Echepolis, the son of Alcathous, i. 116.
Echestratus, the son of Agis, i. 234.
Echetlæus, the hero, i. 89.
Echocax, a picture of, iii. 153.

Echus, a porch so called among the Hermionenses, i. 224.
Ecdelus, the disciple of Arcesilaus, and preceptor of Philopœmen, ii. 329.
Echinades, the islands, ii. 275.
Echion, iii. 9.
Ectenæ the, the first inhabitants of Thebes, iii. 9.
Edifice in Athens, an account of the pictures it contains, i. 57.
Egyptians, why all the statues of their dæmons were raised on sailing vessels, iii. 297.
Eioneus, a picture of, iii. 158.
Elaphus, the river, ii. 303.
Elassus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Elatæa, the city, iii. 179.
Elatus, the son of Arcas, ii. 231.
Eleans, the, accused by the Lacedæmonians of various crimes, i. 251.
———, particulars of the antiquity of, ii. 2.
———, partook of the Trojan war, ii. 10.
———, unwillingly warred on the Athenians, ii. 10.
———, opposed the Spartans, ii. 10.
———, united with the Macedonians, ii. 10.
———, assisted Philip, ii. 10.
———, warred on the Macedonians, ii. 10.
———, instituted games for boys, ii. 20.
Eleatas, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
Electra, i. 233.
———, the town, i. 400.
———, a picture of, iii. 153.
Electryon, the father of Alcmene, i. 193.
Elegies and funeral dirges accommodated to the melody of pipes, iii. 106.
Elegy, the word, used by Pausanias as synonymous with epigram, iii. 299.
Elephant, prominences from the mouth of, horns and not teeth, ii. 29.
Eleus, the son of Eurycyda, reigned over the Epeans, ii. 3.
Eleus, king of Elis, ii. 7.
Eleusis, the hero, i. 105.
———, a Bœotian city, iii. 47.
Eleusinian mysteries the, Pausanias restrained by a dream from divulging, i. 37.
———, disclosed by the latter Platonists, iii. 200.
Eleuther, the son of Apollo, iii. 39.
———, a Pythian victor, iii. 105.
Eleutherion, a river in Mycenæ, i. 168.
Elis, a statue of, ii. 116.
Elisson, the river, i. 157.
Emaution, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 119.
Embolos, a place so called in Altis, ii. 39.
Emilus, the statuary, ii. 44.
Emperamus the Spartan, a servant of, by committing adultery with the wife of a Messenian, causes Ira to be taken, i. 364.
Enceladus, the giant, ii. 325.
Endius, the statuary, ii. 160. 325.
Endymion, the adytum of, ii. 2.
———, the son of Æthlius, ii. 18.
———, the fable of, explained, iii. 283.
Enneacrunos, a fountain in Attica, i. 36.
Ennus, the poet, iii. 155.
Enope, the city, i. 310.
Enudus, the son of Ancæus, ii. 156.
Enyalius in fetters, an ancient statue of, i. 274.
Eoeæ the great, verses so called, i. 129. 167. 194. 314. iii. 167.
———, verses from, iii. 76. 86.
Epenor, a picture of, iii. 163.
Elyros, the city, iii. 127.
Epaminondas, a remarkable vision of, in a dream, i. 380.
——— sacrifices to Bacchus and Ismenian Apollo, i. 383.
——— builds Messene, i. 383.
———, particulars of, ii. 249.
——— restored Greece to some degree of vigour, ii. 337.
———, a statue of, iii. 24.
———, the transactions of, iii. 25—31.
——— slain by an Athenian at Mantinea, iii. 30.
Epebolus, the prophet, i. 335.
Eperastus, the prophet, a victor in the armed Olympic course, ii. 119.
Epeus made the wooden horse, according to Homer, i. 208.
——, a picture of, iii. 156.
Ephebeum, a place so called in Sparta, i. 272.
Ephesus, ii. 151.
Ephialtes, iii. 56.
Ephori, the Spartan, i. 260.
Ephyse, the daughter of Ocean, i. 125.
Epicradius, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 102.
Epicrates, i. 256.
Epidauria, i. 193.

Epidaurian kings, an account of, i. 194.
Epidaurians, a theatre of the, i. 198.
Epidaurus Periphetes, the son of Vulcan, i. 126.
———, the son of Pelops, i. 194.
———, a city of the Eleutherolacones, i. 295.
——— called Limera, i. 301.
Epidote, the name of a dæmon venerated by the Spartans, i. 282.
Epigonoi, the, warred on Thebes, iii. 19.
Epigram on the tomb of Phytalus, i. 101.
Epimelides, i. 402.
Epimenides, i. 287. ii. 266.
Epimetheus, a definition of, iii. 212.
Epimides, one of the Curetes, ii. 17.
Epione, a statue of, i. 199. 202.
Epipyrgidia, a statue of Hecate so called, with three bodies joined in one, i. 206.
Epiteles, the son of Æschynes, remarkable dream of, i. 380.
Epitherses, a victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, ii. 115.
Epochus, the son of Lycurgus, ii. 233.
Eponymus, the Spartan, i. 260.
Epopeus, war of, against the Thebans, i. 140.
Erasinus, the river, i. 226. ii. 269.
———, derives its origin from the Stymphalus of Arcadia, i. 190.
Erasus, the son of Triphylus, iii. 111.
Erato, the nymph, ii. 307.
Erectheus, statue of, i. 72.
Erenea, the town, i. 122.
Eresus, a picture of, iii. 158.
Eretria, enslaved through prodition, ii. 172.
Ergatai, gods so called, the statues of, ii. 296.
Erginus, a king of the Orchomenians, and eldest son of Clymenus, iii. 33. 77.
Ergoteles, a victor in the Olympic dolichos, ii. 87.
Erichthonius, the fable of, explained, iii. 197.
Eridanus, the banks of, produce the black poplar, ii. 36.
Erigone, the daughter of Ægisthus, i. 172.
Eriphyle, ii. 45. 275.
———, the necklace of, iii. 88.
———, a picture of, iii. 163.
Erochus, the city, iii. 95.
Erxiclides, the Athenian archon, iii. 102.
Erymanthus, the river, ii. 16. 132. 273.
Erythæa, the daughter of Geryon, iii. 130.
Erythræ, the city, ruins of, iii. 3.
Erythræi, the, refer their origin to Erythrus, the son of Rhadamanthus, ii. 154.
Erythrus, the son of Leucon, ii. 134.
Eryx, i. 277. 408.
Eteocles, iii. 12.
——— the first that sacrificed to the Graces, iii. 72.
Eteonicus, ii. 84. iii. 67.
Etis, the city, i. 298.
Euæchme, the daughter of Hyllus, i. 314.
Euæphnus, the Spartan, i. 321.
Evagoras, i. 203.
——— Zanclæus, ii. 69.
Eualcis, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Euamerion, sacrificed to as to a god, i. 156.
Evander, the son of Mercury, ii. 319.
Evanoridas, the wrestler, ii. 96.
Euanthes, the pugilist, ii. 87.
Euanthes, the son of Œnopion, ii. 158.
Eubius, the statuary, iii. 22.
Eubœa, i. 168.
Eubotus, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 96.
Eubulus, the son of Carmanor, i. 206.
Euchirus, the statuary, ii. 85.
Eucles, a victor in the Olympic contest of boxing with men, ii. 90. 93.
Euclides, the statuary, ii. 217.
Euclus, the prophet, iii. 120.
Euergitadas, a noble Messenian, i. 366.
——— migrates to the mountain Lycæus, i. 371.
Euesperitæ, the, a people of Libya, i. 379.
Euippe, the daughter of Leucon, iii. 72.
Euippus, i. 112.
Eumachus, his account of two large skeletons, iii. 242.
Eumeles, i. 319.
Eumelus, the author of a history of Corinth, i. 125.
———, verses of, i. 398.
——— the architect, ii. 51.
——— the first king of Patræ, ii. 193.
Eumolpia, a Grecian piece, of poetical composition, iii. 100.
Eumolpus, statue of, i. 72.

Eunomus, the son of Prytanis, i. 248.
Euphaes, the son of Antiochus, i. 324.
———, his speech to the Messenians, i. 327.
———, his speech to the Messenian army, i. 330.
——— and Theopompus fight with each other, i. 333.
Eupheme, the nurse of the Muses, iii. 57.
Euphemus, ji. 46.
Euphorbus, the son of Alchimachus, ii. 172.
Euphorion Chalcidensis, i. 178. iii. 157.
Eupolemus, the architect, i. 169.
———, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 82.
Eupolus, the Thessalian, ii. 55.
Euripides, sepulchre of, i. 4.
——— statue of, i. 53.
Euripus, i. 103.
Europas, the architect, i. 275.
Europe, the daughter of Phœnix, ii. 156.
Eurotas, the son of Myles, i. 231.
———, the river, i. 293. ii. 321.
Euryalus, ii. 133.
———, a statue of, i. 178. iii. 114.
———, a picture of, iii. 154.
Eurybates, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
———, a picture of, iii. 153.
Eurycles made a bath for the Corinthians, i. 132.
Euryclides, the orator, i. 149.
Eurycrates, the son of Polydorus, i. 238.
Eurycyde, ii. 2.
Eurydamus, a statue of, iii. 127.
Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedæmon, i. 268.
———, the wife of Philip, ii. 44.
Eurygaiiea, the daughter of Hyperphas, iii. 11.
Euryleon, i. 334.
Euryleonida, a statue of, i. 281.
Eurylochus, a picture of, iii. 161.
Eurymachus, a picture of, iii. 159.
Eurynomus, the dæmon, a picture of, iii. 161.
Eurypon, the son of Soos, through his renown, caused the Proclidæ to be called Eurypontidæ, i. 248.
Eurypylus, the son of Euæmon, particulars of, ii. 198.
———, the son of Telephus, i. 310. iii. 13.
Eurysthenes, the son of Aristodemus, i. 233.
Eurystheus, i. 408.
Eurytion, the centaur, ii. 193.
Eurytium, a desolate place in Messene, i. 315.
Eurytus, the son of Melaneus, i. 319.
Eustathius on Homer, a citation from, iii. 300.
Eutelidas, victor over boys in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 21.
Eutelidas, the statuary, ii. 101.
Euthymenes, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 97.
Euthymus, the Olympic victor in boxing, ii. 91.
Eutychides, the statuary, ii. 79. 82.
Execestides, a victor in the Pythian contest with the two-yoked car, iii. 106.

F.

Fables of the ancients, a specimen of the manner in which they are to be understood, iii. 195, 196.
Fear, a statue of, i. 133.
Fishes, marine, found in the greatest abundance in the river Achelous, i. 400.
Flamininus, the Roman general, connects the Achaians and Romans in a warlike league, ii. 166.
——— earnestly endeavours to take Hannibal alive, ii. 251.
Flax, fine, within Elea, ii. 11.
Fortifications, the, a place so called in Sparta, i. 265.
Fortune, instances of, the mutations she causes in cities, ii. 296.
———, beautiful account of, from Simplicius, iii. 279.
Forum, Spartan, the contents of the, i. 262.
Fountain, built by Theagenes, i. 109.
Fountains of Megaris, i. 114.

G.

Gabales, a people so called, i. 128.
Gades, i. 98.
Galatæ, the, i. 385.
Gallus, the Roman senator, separates many cities from the Achaic council, ii. 175.
Ganymedes, of what the image, iii. 290.
Garapammon, the Olympic pugilist, ii. 58.
Garates, the river, ii. 341.
Gate, sacred, i. 153.

Gate, Teneatic, i. 138.
Gatheatas, the river, ii. 299.
Gauls, the, an account of their irruption into Greece, i. 9—12. iii. 135—150.
———, remarkable from very early periods for acting in defiance of law and religion, iii. 322.
Gelanor, the son of Sthenela, i. 174.
Genetyllides, the, statues of, i. 3.
———, probably the two Venuses, the supermundane and mundane, iii. 194.
Geranthre, the town, i. 235.
Gereatis, a city in Sicily, ii. 63.
Gerenia, i. 295. 310.
Gères conducted the Bœotian colony, ii. 154.
Geronthræ, i. 295. 297.
Geryon, i. 98. 408.
Gitiadas, the statuary, composed Doric songs, and a hymn to Minerva, i. 280. 284.
Glaucas, ii. 71.
Glauce, the fountain of, i. 133.
———, the Nymph, ii. 326.
Glaucias, the statuary, ii. 99. 104.
———, a victor in the Olympic games, iii. 105.
Glaucon, a victor in the Olympic perfect chariot-race, ii. 118.
Glaucus, the son of Æpytus, i. 319.
———, the statuary, ii. 70.
———, the river, ii. 193.
———, the Spartan, ii. 239.
———, the son of Sisyphus, ii. 130.
———, a picture of, iii. 159.
———, a dæmon of the sea, iii. 44.
———, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 100.
———, the Chian, first discovered the art of soldering iron, iii. 127.
Glissas, the ruins of, iii. 37.
Glyppia, the town, i. 292.
Gnatho, the pugilist, ii. 95.
Gnothis, the Thessalian, ii. 65.
Goddesses, the great, Ceres and Proserpine, ii. 292.
Gods, the, called by the ancients a golden chain, on account of their connexion with each other, and incorruptible nature, iii. 194.
———, proved from indisputable authority to have been seen in all mysteries, iii. 295.
———, Prodromean, the meaning of, iii. 249.
———, an account of those that were called by the Greeks, the twelve, iii. 246.
Golden age, the meaning of the, iii. 284.
Gonassa, the daughter of Sicyon, ii. 49.
Gonippus, i. 381.
Gorgasus, i. 391.
Gorgias, the Leontine, a statue of, ii. 120. iii. 134.
———, Plato's account of, iii. 294.
Gorgophone, the daughter of Perseus, i. 232. 315.
Gorgus, the son of Aristomenes, i. 362.
———, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 112. 115.
Gortyna, ii. 16.
Gortynius, an appellation of Æsculapius, i. 156.
———, the river, ii. 16. 286.
Gortys, the village, ii. 286.
———, the son of Stymphalus, ii. 232.
Graces, the, a grove sacred to, i. 220.
———, according to Hesiod, the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome, iii. 73.
———, names of, iii. 73.
———, the daughters of Aigle and the Sun according to Antimachus, iii. 73.
Grais, the son of Echelatus, i. 234.
Graniarius, Brazen statue of, i. 156.
Grecian cities, that opposed Xerxes at Thermopylæ, an enumeration of the, iii. 136.
Greece, misfortunes of, and war against the Macedonians, i. 65—67.
———, a statue of, ii. 116.
———, the extreme imbecility of, in the one hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, ii. 189.
Greeks, the shipwreck of, at Caphareus, i. 186.
———, such as were formerly reckoned wise, concealed their wisdom in ænigmas, ii. 240.
———, employ more ancient instead of more recent names in poetical compositions, ii. 191.
Griffins, i. 64.
Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, iii. 244. iii. 31.
Gyges, the son of Dascylus, i. 367.
Gymnasium, called Ptolemæum, contents of the, i. 42.
———— in Elis, ii. 137.
Gytheum, i. 294.

H.

Hæmoniæ, a place in Arcadia, ii. 321.
Haliartus, the son of Thersander, iii. 72.
———, the city, iii. 66.
Halicarnassus, i. 209.
Halice, i. 224.
Halirrhothiûs, i. 54.
Halitæa, the fountain, ii. 161.
Haliussa, the island, i. 220.
Halmus, the son of Sisyphus, iii. 72.
Halus, a place in Arcadia, ii. 277.
Hama, the fountain, ii. 206.
Hannibal, ii. 250.
Hares, white, ii. 262.
Harmostai, the prefects, iii. 14.
Harpalus, i. 217. ii. 194.
Harpinnates, the river, ii. 133.
Harpinne, the ruins of, ii. 133.
Harplea, i. 292.
Hearth of the gods, called Prodromean, i. 114.
Hecaerga, i. 118.
Hecaerge, ii. 17.
Hecatæus, the Milesian, i. 307. 315. ii. 232.
Hecate, why called Enodian, iii. 275.
Hecatus, the prophet of the Lacedæmonians, i. 352.
———, a stratagem of, i. 367.
Hector, a picture of, iii. 167.
Hegelaus, the son of Tyrrhenus, i. 181.
Hegemone, one of the Graces according to the Athenians, iii. 72.
Hegesarchus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 107.
Hegesinous the poet, verses of, iii. 56.
Hegias, the Trœzenian poet, i. 4.
Helen, a bath of, i. 129.
———, a picture of, iii. 153.
———, the rape of, shown to be fabulous according to Stesichorus and Plato, iii. 271.
Helene, the desert island, ii. 258.
Helenus, a picture of, iii. 154.
Heliæa, a place of judgment among the Athenians, i. 77.
Helice, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 212.
———, shaken from its foundation by an earthquake, ii. 214.
Helicon, mount, the contents of, iii. 62.
Helisson, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
———, the city, ii. 229.
———, the river, ii. 15. 289.
Helius, the youngest son of Perseus, i. 291.
Hellapicus, i. 133. 168.
———, the Olympic victor, ii. 95.
Hellanodicai, or the judges of the Olympic games, ii. 23.
Hellanodicon, a place so called in Elis, ii. 139.
Hellas, once a part of Thessaly, i. 291.
Hellebore, two sorts of, in Anticyra, iii. 185.
Hellenium, a place in Sparta so called, i. 265.
Helos, a maritime Achaian town, i. 236.
———, the ruins of, i. 296.
Henioche, the daughter of Creon, iii. 20.
Hera, the promontory, ii. 160.
Heraclea, the village, ii. 136.
Heracleios, the torrent, iii. 187.
Heraclidæ, the, contend for Argos and Lacedæmon, i. 173.
———, the return of, i. 317.
Heraclides, ii. 56.
———, governor of the Delphi, iii. 93.
Heræa, the city of, ii. 280.
Herœeus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 280.
Hercules, i. 212.
———, particulars of the sacrifice to him, i. 151.
———, the children of, their return, i. 159.
———, a statue and trophy of, i. 259.
———, an armed statue of, i. 273.
———, the cause of his warring on Hippocoon and his sons, i. 273.
———— is unjustly treated by Augeas, ii. 3.
———— warred upon Augeas, ii. 4.
———— slew the sons of Actor, ii. 4.
———— took and plundered Elis, ii. 6.
———, one of the Curetes, ii. 17.
———, a large brazen statue of, in Olympia, ii. 68.
———, a gymnasium and stadium of, iii. 23.
———, one of those that are called the Idæi Dactyli, iii. 38.
———— Rinocoloustes, a statue of, iii. 49.
———— strangling the dragons, the meaning of, iii. 210.
———, the hero, descended from a god of that name, iii. 262.
———, the son of Alexander, iii. 15.
———, a fountain so called, i. 214.
Hercyna, the river, iii. 81, 82
Hermæ, i. 259.

Hermæum, ii. 290.
Hermes Agetor, a statue of, ii. 294.
Hermesianax, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 119.
———, a writer of elegies, ii. 191. 193. 251. iii. 73.
Hermias, extract from the MS. Commentary of, on the Phædrus, iii. 288. 300.
Hermion, the son of Europs, i. 219.
Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, i. 172.
——————————, a statue of, iii. 127.
Hermione, the city, i. 219.
Hermionenses, their mode of sacrifice, i. 222.
Hermogenes, the statuary, i. 131.
Hermolychus, i. 61.
Hermon, the architect, ii. 125.
Herodes, the architect, i. 49. iii. 170.
———, the Athenian, i. 127. ii. 131. 200.
Herodotus, i. 92. 117. 165. 180. 207. 234. 307. iii. 171. 177. 178.
———, the Clazomenian, a statue of, ii. 118.
Heroes, the armour of, according to Homer, brazen, i. 238.
Heroes, among men, the characteristics of, iii. 203.
———, why called demigods, iii. 204.
Herophile, the Sibyl, iii. 117.
——————, Oracle of, 118.
——————, remarkable account of, from the MS. Commentary of Hermias on the Phædrus, iii. 322.
Hesiod, i. 5. 7. 76. 117. 141. 150. 196. ii. 263. iii. 53. 73. 105.
———, a brazen statue of, iii. 54.
———, a statue of, iii. 59.
———, a catalogue of the works of, iii. 63.
———, the meaning of an assertion of, in his Catalogue of Women, iii. 250.
Hesperian regions, the secret meaning of the, iii. 265.
Hesperides, the meaning of the golden apples of the, iii. 265.
Hestiæa, the Eubœan city, ii. 166.
Hetœmocles, a statue of, i. 269.
Hicetas, the son of Aristocrates, ii. 236.
Hiera, the city, iii. 116.
Hiero, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 105. 317.
Hierocæsarea, a Lydian city, ii. 73.
Hieronymus, ii. 282.
——————— Andrius, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 113.
Hilotæ, the, i. 291. 339.
Himeræus, the poet, iii. 157.
Hippagoras, ii. 61.
Hipparchus, i. 59.
Hippasus flies to Samos, i. 159.
Hippia, the goddess, ii. 325.
Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, i. 58.
———, the sophist, ii. 68. iii. 291.
———, the statuary, ii. 108.
Hippo, the daughter of Scedasus, iii. 26.
Hippocoon, i. 173. 232.
Hippocrates, the physician, iii. 94.
——————, the brother of Epicydes, ii. 106.
Hippocrene, the fountain, i. 212.
Hippodæmium, a building in Altis, ii. 59.
Hippodamia, ii. 45. 128.
Hippodrome, the, in Olympia, particulars of, ii. 130.
——————, the name of the forum in Elis, ii. 139.
——————, the, of Apollo, iii. 187.
Hippola, the city, i. 308.
Hippolytus, i. 198.
——————, a grove of, i. 213.
——————, according to the Trœzenians, forms that constellation which is called the charioteer, i. 213.
Hippomachus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 106.
Hippomedon, foundations of the house of, i. 226.
Hippomenes, i. 347.
Hippon, the Elean pugilist, ii. 81.
Hipposthenes, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Hippotes, the son of Phylas, i. 267.
Hippothoon, i. 107.
Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, ii. 234.
Hippotion, ii. 68.
Hiræus, the city, i. 166.
Holmones, the city, iii. 47.
Homer, i. 5. 43. 59. 77. 86. 104. 141. 157. 160. 185. 203. 209. 225. 238. 249. 294. 305. 307. 310. 317. 386. 390. 391. 392. 396. 400. 409. ii. 7. 19. 26. 35. 51. 65. 89. 161. 212. 218. 225. 229. 241. 261. 267. 268. 273. 276. 279. 296. 305. 310. 313. 314. 327. 328. 333. 338. iii. 19. 33. 38. 44. 52. 85—87. 95. 103—105. 116. 123. 132. 153. 155. 156. 157. 161. 165. 174. 185. 188.
Homer never saw an elephant, i. 31.

Homer, extract from his hymn to Ceres, i. 162.
———, what he alludes to by a people unacquainted with the sea, iii. 199.
———, meaning of the infernal rivers mentioned by him, iii. 205.
———, author of the poem called the Small Iliad, iii. 278.
———, the blindness of, shown to be fabulous, and the meaning of it explained, iii. 271.
———, that the Iliad and Odyssey of, are to be considered as divine fables, iii. 270.
———, two lines of, in the Iliad, not understood by any of his translators and modern commentators, iii. 267.
———, a word of, in the fifth Iliad, how understood by the Eleans, iii. 297.
———, a verse of, i. 158. 167. 190. 288. 335. ii. 148. 217. iii. 35. 177. 294. 300.
———, verses of, i. 132. 142. 183. 197. 235. 291. 295. 313. ii. 14. 66. 135. 142. 145. 200. 203. 221. 280. 263. 264. 278. 288. iii. 10. 11. 39. 58. 73. 75. 80. 89. 97. 152. 163. 164. 222. 260. 267. 269. 282. 285. 287. 290. 307. 310. 317. 318.
Horse, a brazen one in Olympia, endued with the power of raising in living horses the hippomanes, ii. 72.
House, among the Phliasians, called prophetic, i. 161.
Human life, the different ages of, on the earth, correspond to the order of the universe, iii. 262.
Hyacinthia, i. 257.
Hyamia, i. 347.
Hyampolis, the city, iii. 95. 182.
Hyantes, the, iii. 9.
Hyanthidas, i. 135.
Hybrilides, the Athenian archon, ii. 99.
Hydra's heads, the secret meaning of the, iii. 272.
Hydrea, the island, i. 220.
Hyettus, the city, iii. 47. 75.
Hygia, or Health, why called the daughter and wife of Æsculapius, iii. 210.
Hylæ, a place belonging to the Magnetæ, iii. 171.
Hyllus, the son of the Earth, i. 98.
———, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 110.
———, the son of Hercules, slain by Echemus, ii. 233.
Hylycus, the river, i. 215.
Hypapa, a Lydian city, ii. 73.
Hypatodorus, the statuary, ii. 290. iii. 114.
Hypenas Pisæus, victor in the twofold course in the Olympic games, ii. 19.
Hyperbius, i. 75.
Hyperboreans, a people beyond the Thracians, mentioned by Callimachus in his hymn to Delos, iii. 226.
Hyperea, the city, i. 208.
Hyperenor, the Spartan, iii. 9.
Hyperetes, a king of the Trœzenians, i. 208.
Hyperion, i. 118.
Hyperippe, ii. 2.
Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, i. 175.
———, a statue of, iii. 114.
Hyperochus, a Cumæan, iii. 119.
Hyperteleaton, a place so called in Sparta, i. 298.
Hypsos, a place so called in Sparta, i. 304.
Hypsus, the city, ii. 229.
Hyrieus, iii. 77.
Hyrmina, the daughter of Epeus, ii. 2.
———, a city in Elea, ii. 4.
Hyrnethium, i. 200.
Hyrnetho, i. 200.
Hyrnethus, i. 194.
Hysgina, the plants, iii. 184.
Hysia, the city, ruins of, iii. 8.
Hysmon, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 83.

I. and J.

Iacchus, a statue of, holding a torch, i. 5.
Ialmenus, the son of Mars, iii. 78.
Jamblichus De Mysteriis, beautiful extract from, iii. 318. 326.
Iambrasus, the river, ii. 157.
Iamidæ, the prophets, ii. 79.
Ianiscus, i. 142.
Iaseus, a picture of, iii. 165.
Iasis, the Nymph, ii. 136.
Iasius, one of the Curetes, ii. 17. 327.
Jason, i. 133. ii. 46.
Iasus, i. 165.
Ibycus, i. 141.
Icarius, the father of Penelope, i. 263. 292.
Icarus Hyperesiensis, i. 349.
Icasius, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 119.
Iccus, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 101.
Ichthyophagi, i. 92.
Ictinus, the architect, ii. 315.

Ida, the Nymph, ii. 326.
———, the mother of the Sibyl Herophile, iii. 119.
Idæus, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 105.
Idas, the eldest son of Aphareus, i. 316.
——, one of the Curetes, ii. 17.
Idomeneus, ii. 69.
Ilei, the town, i. 219.
Iliad, the small, the author of the, i. 310.
———, iii. 164.
Illyrians, stratagem of the, towards the Mothonæans, i. 406.
Imeros, the meaning of the word according to Plato, iii. 251.
Immaradus, i. 104.
Inachus, an Argive river, ii. 238.
Incantation, curious account of, from a very rare Greek MS. of Psellus, iii. 292.
Indus and the Nile breed crocodiles, i. 401.
Ino, oracle of, i. 308.
——, the symbolical signification of, iii. 250.
Inopus, the river, i. 138.
Inycus, a Sicilian city, ii. 157.
Io, i. 65.
Iolaus, the son of the brother of Hercules, ii. 150.
———, the son of Iphicles, ii. 257.
———, the Gymnasium of, iii. 44.
Ion, the son of Erectheus, ii. 147.
——, the son of Gargettus, ii. 136.
——, the tragic poet, ii. 158.
Ionès, the affairs of, ruined through prodition, ii. 172.
Ionians and Achaians, the war between, ii. 148.
———, the advent of into Attica, ii. 149.
———, expelled by the Achaians, ii. 194.
Iophon, the Gnossian, i. 95.
Jordan, the river, ii. 17.
Iphicrates, the son of Timotheus, iii. 29.
Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, i. 408. ii. 50.
Iphimedea, a picture of, iii. 161.
Iphinoe, i. 108.
Iphis, the son of Alector, i. 172.
Iphitus established the games in Olympia, ii. 9.
Iphodamion, a building so called in Altis, ii. 127.
Ira taken by the Lacedæmonians, i. 362.
Isagoras, i. 240.
Ischys, the son of Elatus, i, 195. ii. 331.
Isis, an adytum sacred to, iii. 173.
——, the Paneguris of, particulars of, iii. 173.
——, the tears of, said to cause the Nile to irrigate the fields, iii. 174.
——, the same with Minerva, iii. 257.
Ismenius, the son of Apollo, iii. 21.
Isocrates, statue of, i. 46.
Isthmius, the son of Glaucus, i. 319.
Isthmus, Corinthian, topography of, i. 126.
Isthmus, the, in Trœzenia, i. 217.
Istoris, the daughter of Tiresias, iii. 22.
Ithæmenes, a picture of, iii. 153.
Itonus, ii. 2.
———, the son of Amphictyon, iii. 170.
Ityx, i. 63.
Juno, the nurses of, i. 168.
——, Œgophagus, i. 275.
——, the temple of, among the Eleans, the particulars of, ii. 41—55.
——, a grove of, ii. 210.
——, a fable of, iii. 5.
——, called Numpheuomene, by the Platæenses, iii. 5.
——, called Teleia by the Platæenses, iii. 5.
——, why represented holding in one of her hands a pomegranate, iii. 265.
Jupiter, a remarkable statue of, i. 110.
———, a wooden statue of, with three eyes, i. 189.
———, an ancient brazen statue of, i. 189.
———, many statues of, ii. 64—66.
———, Apesantius, i. 165.
———, Apomyius, ii. 35.
———, Eleutherius, statue of, i. 7.
———, Euanemus, the meaning of, iii. 274.
———, Hymethian, statue of, i. 88.
———, Ithomatas, a statue of, i. 309.
———, Laphystius, a grove of, iii. 71.
———, Lycæan, remarkable account of a grove of, ii. 308.
——— the Machinator, the statue of, i. 184.
——— Meilichius, shown to be the same with the dæmon in the Orphic hymns, iii. 243.
———, the statue of, i. 177.
——— Moiragetes, a statue of, ii. 304.
——— Orkios, a statue of, ii. 66.

Jupiter Panellenian, i. 205.
——— Parnethian, i. 88.
——— Phyxius, iii. 267.
———, why called δια and ζηνα, iii. 196.
———, why represented with a sceptre, iii. 193.
———, why called Polieus, iii. 212.
———, terrestrial statue of, i. 131.
——— Most high, statue of, i. 131.
——— evinced his approbation of the art of Phidias, ii. 29.
———, why so many nations have asserted that he was born and educated among them, iii. 281.
———, why represented with three eyes, iii. 268.
———, Neptune, and Pluto, an account of, from Proclus, iii. 254.
Jupiters, the three, mentioned by Pausanias, an explanation of, iii. 254.

K.

King, the, among the Lacedæmonians, how judged, i. 243.

L.

Labax, the pugilist, ii. 81.
Labdacus, the son of Polydore, iii. 10.
Labotas, the son of Echestratus, i. 234.
Lacedæmon gave names to the Laconic region and inhabitants, i. 231.
———, the ancestor of Patreus, ii. 194.
Lacedæmonian kings, an account of the most ancient, i. 232. 233.
Lacedæmonians, the, collect an army against the Thebans, i. 243.
———, march to battle with the melody of pipes, the lyre, and the harp, i. 280.
———, the manner in which they commenced hostilities against the Messenians, i. 321—325.
———, put to flight by the Messenians, i. 333.
———, lead an army against Ithome, i. 337.
———, particulars of the battle between them and the Messenians, i. 337. 338.
———, the conduct of towards the Messenians, i. 347.
———, subvert Ithome, i. 347.
Lacedæmonians, the, vanquished by the Achaians, ii. 180.
———, attack Megalopolis, ii. 285.
Lachares, i. 67.
Lacida, the town, i. 101.
Lacius, the hero, grove of, i. 101.
Lacrates, the architect, ii. 125.
———, the commander of the Ætolians, iii. 139.
Ladas, the statue of, i. 176.
——, the stadium, ii. 252.
Lade, the island, i. 97.
Ladocus, the son of Echemus, ii. 321.
Ladon, the river, ii. 16. 135. 266. 272.
Læas, the architect, i. 275.
——, the son of Cypselus, ii. 234.
Laias, the son of Oxylus, ii. 9.
Laidas, a victor in the Pythian pancratium, iii. 106.
Laius, the son of Labdacus, iii. 10.
Lalichmion, a place so called in the Elean Gymnasium, ii. 139.
Lamedon, transactions of, and of others that reigned in Sicyon, i. 141.
Lamia, i. 207.
Lampis, victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 20.
Lamps ever-burning, a large account of, iii. 217—219.
Lampus, the son of Prolaus, ii. 5. 87.
———, a statue of, ii. 117.
Lamus, the river, iii. 64.
Lancea, the fountain, i. 294.
Laodamas, iii. 12.
Laodice, the daughter of Agapenor, ii. 233.
Laomedon, a picture of, iii. 158.
Laonome, the mother of Amphitryon, ii. 255.
Laphais Phliasius, the statuary, i. 151. ii. 219.
Laphas, the Argive, a trophy of, i. 182.
Laphrius, the brother of Castalius, ii. 195.
Lapithæ, the, ii. 26.
Lapithæum in Taygetus, i. 292.
Larissa, the tower, i. 189.
Larissus, the river, ii. 146. 190.
Larymna, the daughter of Cynus, iii. 47.
———, the city, iii. 47.
Las, a city of the Eleutherolacones, i. 295. 303.
Lasius, ii. 133.
Lastratidas, a victor in the Olympic wrestling, ii. 90.
Latona, admirable account of, from the

MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylus, iii. 251.
Laughter, which conceals some noxious design, called by Homer, Sardonian, iii. 132.
Laurium, i. 1.
Leæna, the harlot, i. 59.
Learchus of Rhegium, the statuary, i. 281.
Lebadea, the city, iii. 81.
Lebades, iii. 81.
Lebena, a Cretan city, i. 196.
Leches, i. 129.
Ledon, a Phocic city, iii. 93. 95. 175.
Leitus, iii. 81.
Leleges, the, ii. 151.
Lelex, i. 108. 312.
——, the first Laconian king, i. 231.
Leochares, the statuary, i. 63. ii. 54.
Leocydes, ii. 247. 248.
Leogorus, the son of Procles, ii. 156.
Leon, the son of Eurycrates, i. 238.
——, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 82.
Leonidæum, the building, ii. 38.
Leonidas, i. 239.
——— opposes Xerxes at Thermopylæ, i. 241.
——— is compelled to abdicate the kingdom, i. 247.
———, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 108. 117.
Leontiscus, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 80. 85.
Leontomenes, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 162.
Leosthenes and his children, a picture of, i. 1.
——— chosen general of the forces against the Macedonians, i. 66.
Leotychides, king of the Spartans, always victorious, i. 250.
Lepreate, the, i. 251.
———, what they relate, ii. 12.
Lepreos, a town of the Eleans, ii. 11.
Lepreus, the son of Pergeus, ii. 11.
Lerna, the fountain, i. 136.
Lernæan mysteries, said to have been instituted by Philammon, i. 227.
Lesche, a building in Delphos, iii. 152.
Lescheus Pyrrhæus, the poet, iii. 154. 158.
Lessa, the village, i. 194.
Lethe, the water of, iii. 83.
Letrini, a town in Elis, ii. 156.
Leucasia, the river, i. 399.
Leucippides, the, i. 268.
Leucippus, the son of Perieres, i. 309. 315.
———, the son of Œnomaus, ii. 266. 267.
Leucon, iii. 71.
Leuconia, the fountain, ii. 322.
Leuctra, i. 295. 310.
Leucyanias, the river, ii. 132.
Libethrius, the fountain, iii. 170.
Libon, the architect, ii. 23.
Libya alone produces terrestrial crocodiles, i. 200.
Libye, the daughter of Epaphus, i. 121.
Licetus, iii. 217.
Lichas, his interpretation of an oracle, i. 238.
Lilæa, the city, iii. 95.
——, one of the Naiades, and the daughter of Cephissus, iii. 176.
Limera, i. 295.
Limon, the son of Tegeates, ii. 338.
Linus, the poet, ii. 263.
———, the son of Urania, iii. 57.
——, called Oitolinos, iii. 58.
——, a song so called by the Greeks, and which was denominated by the Egyptians Maneroon, iii. 58.
Liparæi, the, a colony of Gnidians, iii. 116.
Locri Hypocnemidii, the, iii. 90.
Locrus, the statuary, i. 20.
Locusts, i. 64.
Lophis, the river, iii. 69.
Lous, the river, i. 401.
Love venerated by the Thespians beyond all the gods, iii. 52.
Loxi, i. 92.
Lucian, extract from the Cataplus of, iii. 221.
Lucina, the daughter of Juno, according to the Cretans, i. 45.
———, called Eulinon by Olen, ii. 268.
———, the mother of Love, according to the poet Olen, iii. 53.
Lupiæ, an Italian city, between Brundusium and Hydrus, ii. 125.
Lutrophorus, the name of the priestess of Venus, i. 152.
Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, particulars of, ii. 227.
Lycas instituted a chariot race, ii. 78.
Lycæus, the mountain, ii. 307.
Lyceas, what he asserts in his verses, i. 175.
———, the historian, i. 188.

Lyceatæ, the city, ii. 229.
Lycinus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 78. 102.
Lycius, the statuary, the son of Myron, ii. 60.
Lycomedes, the son of Apollo, by Parthenope, ii. 156.
———, the son of Creon, a picture of, iii. 154.
Lycomida, i. 58.
Lycorea, the city, iii. 103
Lycormas, a victor in the Pythian contest with the vaulting colt, iii. 106.
Lycortas, the Megalopolitan, ii. 170. 273.
Lycorus, the son of Apollo, iii. 103.
Lycosura, an Arcadian city, the first that the sun beheld, ii. 307.
Lycurgus, i. 234.
———, the statue of, i. 272.
——— changed the custom of sacrificing a man by lot, to the scourging of young men with whips, i. 279. ii. 133.
———, the son of Aleus, ii. 232.
Lycuria, a place in Arcadia, ii. 266.
Lycus, the son of Pandion, i. 313. 316.
——— gave oracles, i. 363.
Lycus, a victor with the vaulting horse in the Olympic games, ii. 109.
——, a king of Thebes, iii. 10.
——, the prophet, iii. 120.
Lydiadas, a commander of the Megalopolitans, ii. 247.
———, king of the Megalopolitans, ii. 284.
Lydians, Persic, iii. 291.
Lygdamis, a victor in the pancratium in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Lymax, the river, ii. 313.
Lynceus, i. 166. 192. 316.
———, a statue of, iii. 114.
Lyrcea, i. 192.
Lyrcus, a statue of, on a column, i. 192.
Lysander, transactions of, i. 242.
——— said to have seen Ammon in a dream, i. 289.
———, a statue of, ii. 84.
———, particulars of, iii. 66—68.
Lysidice, the daughter of Pelops, ii. 255.
Lysimachus thrown into a den with a lion, i. 22.
———, particulars of, i. 23—26.
Lysippe, the wife of Prolaus, ii. 5.
Lysippus, the statuary, i. 150. 151. ii. 77. 78. 86. 87. 113. 119. iii. 53. 59.
Lysippus, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Lysius, a statue so called, i. 130.
Lyson, the painter, i. 9.
Lysus, the statuary, ii. 118.

M.

Macareus, the son of Æolus, iii. 190.
——— Lycaon, ii 229.
Macaria, the city, ii. 229.
———, the fountain, i. 90.
Machærion, ii. 249.
Machanidas, the tyrant, i. 389.
Mæander, the river, i. 138. ii. 238. 275.
Mænalus, the city, ii. 229.
Mæra, a part of the plain Argos, ii. 240.
——, the daughter of Atlas, ii. 253.
——, a picture of, iii. 165.
Mæræ, the town, ii. 253.
Mæsis, the architect, i. 275.
Magic of the ancients founded on a theory no less sublime, than rational and true, iii. 271.
Magician, an account of a, among the Lydians, ii. 73.
Magnesii, the, i. 297.
Magnetidæ, the gates, ii. 152.
Malgis, iii. 26.
Mallus, the river, ii. 299.
Malœtas, the river, ii. 302.
Maltho, an enclosure in the Elean Gymnasium, ii. 138.
Man, the dream of a shadow according to Pindar, iii. 315.
Manticlus, i. 368. 373.
Mantinea, the city, ii. 229.
Mantinenses, particulars of the engagement of the, against the Lacedæmonians, ii. 247.
———, the wars of the, ii. 241. 242.
Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, the seat of, iii. 20.
Maratha, a place in Arcadia, ii. 286.
Marathon, the town, i. 88.
Mardonius, the son of Gobrias, a statue of, i. 260. iii. 8.
Marion, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, ii. 57.
Marios, the town, i. 295. 297.
Market-place of the Athenians, contents of the, i. 42.
Marpessa, the wife of Meleager, 316.

Marpessus, the city of, iii. 118.
Mars Enyalian, i. 272.
———, the meaning of, iii. 275.
—— Gunaikothoias, a statue of, ii. 328.
—— Therita, a statue of, i. 288.
Marsyas, the pipes of, i. 145.
———, the picture of, iii. 166.
Martiora, a wild beast so called by the Indians, iii. 41.
Mases, an Argive city, i. 224.
Mauri, i. 92.
Mausolus, ii. 261.
Medea, ii. 47.
Medeon, the city, iii. 95.
Medesicaste, a picture of, iii. 155.
Medon, the son of Codrus, ii. 149.
Medontidæ, the, i. 347.
Medus, i. 134.
Medusa, golden head of, i. 54.
———, particulars of, i. 181.
———, a picture of, iii. 157.
Megacles, the architect, ii. 124.
Megalophanes, the disciple of Arcesilaus, and preceptor of Philopœmen, ii. 329.
Megalopolis, ii. 281.
———, when first inhabited, ii. 283.
Megapenthes, the son of Prœtus, i. 166.
———, the son of Menelaus, i. 285.
Megara, the wife of Hercules, a picture of, iii. 163.
Megareus, the son of Neptune, i. 108.
Meges, a picture of, iii. 154.
Meilichos, the river, ii. 198.
Melænæ, the, ii. 229.
———, the city, ii. 281.
Melæneus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 281.
Melampus, the son of Amythaon, i. 172. ii. 264. 326.
Melampus and Bias, the race of, i. 172. 173.
Melan, the son of Antasus, i. 136.
——, the son of Neptune, ii. 158.
——, the river, iii. 80.
Melane, the daughter of Cephissus, iii. 103.
Melaneus, i. 315.
Melangea, a place in Arcadia, ii. 237.
Melanion, ii. 46.
Melanippus, a beautiful Ionian, had connexion with Comætho, a priestess of Diana, in the temple of the goddess, ii. 197.
Melanippus, the son of Mars and Tritia, ii. 207.
Melanopus, the Cumæan poet, ii. 18.
Melanthus, the son of Andropompus, i. 173.
Melas, the son of Antassus, ii. 49.
Melea, the promontory, i. 299.
Meleager, i. 145.
———, a picture of, iii. 167.
Meles, the river, ii. 161.
Meliastæ, the, ii. 237.
Melicerte, iii. 71.
Melitides, gates so called, i. 61.
Memblaurus, i. 233.
Memnon, a picture of, iii. 167.
Memnonides, the birds, iii. 168.
Men, why sometimes demanded as a sacrifice by oracles, iii. 275.
Menæchmus, the statuary, ii. 218.
Menalcas, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 195.
Menalcidas, inferior in perfidy to Callicrates, ii. 176.
———— raises a war between the Achaians and Lacedæmonians, ii. 181.
Menander, the son of Diopithes, sepulchre of, i. 4. 53.
Mendæus, the statuary, ii. 70.
Menelaus, ii. 203.
———, a picture of, iii. 153.
Meneptolemus, a victorious boy in the Olympic race, ii. 113.
Menestratus, iii. 52.
Menodorus, the statuary, iii. 53.
Menophanes, i. 300.
Mentas, ii. 294.
Mercury, gymnasium of, i. 5.
———— Diolios, a statue of, ii. 225.
———— Forensis, a statue of, i. 263.
———, why called Forensis—why said to be the son of Maia. The guardian of gymnastics, music, and disciplines, iii. 261.
———, judicial, i. 39.
———, a statue of, ii. 205.
———, dedicated by Pindar, iii. 33.
———— Polygius, a statue of, i. 212.
———— Pronaoi, a statue of, iii. 20.
———— Propylæus, i. 58.
———, why the statues of, were of a square figure, iii. 263.
———, why a statue of, was an erect penis on a basis, iii. 297.
———, why represented with a ram by his side, iii. 256.
Meroe, the city, i. 92.
Mesateus, a statue of Bacchus so called, ii. 202.
Messa, the city, i. 308.
Messapios, the fountain, iii. 44.

Messatis, the city, ii. 193.
Messeis, the fountain, i. 290.
Messene, the daughter of Triopas, i. 312.
———, situated under Ithome, i. 313.
———, the manner in which it was taken, i. 387.
Messenians, cause of their quarrelling with the Lacedæmonians, i. 319.
———, the, affairs of, in a calamitous condition, i. 334.
——— and Lacedæmonians war on each other in the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus. Particulars of this war, i. 339—342.
——— revolt from the Lacedæmonians, i. 349.
——— fight against the Lacedæmonians, at Dera, i. 350.
——— and Lacedæmonians, particulars of an engagement between them, near the monument of Carpus, i. 351—354.
———, the, vanquished by the Lacedæmonians, i. 357.
———, the, particulars of an engagement between them and the Acarnanes, i. 377.
———, the driven by the Lacedæmonians from Naupactus, i. 379.
———, the, exiled from Peloponnesus for nearly three hundred years, i. 384.
———, forum of the, and its contents, i. 393.
———, the, invited by the Thebans to return to Peloponnesus, i. 380.
———, the, warlike stratagem of, i. 386.
Messenic war, particulars of the, i. 327—334.
Metellus, the Roman general, transactions of, ii. 168. 169.
——— wars on Andiscus, ii. 180.
——— invites the Achaians to make a league with the Romans, ii. 184.
Methana, the town, i. 217.
Methapus the Athenian, the author of mysteries, i. 314.
Methydrium, the city, ii. 229. 301.
Metioche, a picture of, iii. 156.
Micon, the painter, i. 42. 44. ii. 90. 249.
———, the statuary, ii. 106.
———, the orator, i. 149.
Midea, the city, i. 166. 193.
———, destroyed by an earthquake, ii. 214.
Midias, iii. 139.
Milesians, the, particulars of the origin of, ii. 150.
Miletus, the commander of the Cretan fleet, ii. 151.
Milo, the wrestler, particulars of, ii. 111.
Miltiades, the Athenian archon, i. 373. ii. 311.
———, the first that benefited Greece in common, ii. 336.
Mimnermus, the poet, iii. 57.
Minerva, the daughter of Vulcan and the lake Tritonis, i. 38.
———, statue of, that fell from heaven, i. 70.
———, golden lamp of, i. 70.
———, the wall of, ii. 207.
——— Pania, the statue of, i. 185.
——— Pareæ, a statue of, i. 292.
———, called Polias and Sthenias by the Trœzenians, i. 208.
——— Pronaoi, a statue of, iii. 20.
——— Sophronister, iii. 21.
———, called Siga in the Phœnician, and Sais in the Egyptian tongue, iii. 24.
——— Zosteria, iii. 33.
———, a definition of the nature of, iii. 197.
——— rising from the head of Jupiter, the meaning of, iii. 211.
———, why called Ergane, iii. 211.
———, the meaning of the spear and shield of, iii. 211.
———, why called Phosper, the Saviour, Calliergos, a virgin, Aigiochos, philosophic, philopolemic, Victory, and Health, iii. 214.
———, remarkable addition to the celebrated inscription on the statue of, in an Egyptian temple, from Proclus, iii. 257.
———, why Phidias placed a cock on her helmet, iii. 275.
Minoa, the promontory, i. 302.
Minos, i. 74. 235.
——— and Rhadamanthus, intellectual heroes, iii. 204.
Minotaur, the fable of the, explained, iii. 210.
Minyas, the son of Chryses, iii. 75.
———, the treasury of, iii. 79.
———, the poem, verses from, iii. 159. 167.
Mirror, a remarkable account of one in Arcadia, ii. 306.
Mithridates, iii. 15.

Mnaseas, the Cyrenean, ii. 108.
———, the racer, ii. 121.
Mnasinous, i. 285.
Mnemosyne, the water of, iii. 83.
Mnesibulus, a victor in the Olympic stadium, iii. 180.
Mnesimachus, statue of, i. 101.
Mnestheus, the son of Peteus, i. 192.
Molione, the wife of Actor, ii. 4.
———, the imprecations of, ii. 5.
Molossi, the, an ambush of, detected by the braying of an ass, iii. 133.
Molossus, the river, ii. 302.
Molpadia, sepulchre of, i. 4.
Molpia, the daughter of Scedasus, iii. 26.
Molpion, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 86.
Moluris, the rock, sacred to Leucothea and Palæmon, i. 123.
Monuments, heroic, of Pirithous, Theseus, Œdipus, and Adrastus, i. 86.
Moon, the, why said to be drawn by two bulls, iii. 196.
———, why represented drawn by a mule, iii. 285.
———, why represented with horns on her head, iii. 296.
Mopsus, the son of Ampyx, ii. 46.
———, the son of Rhacius, ii. 153.
Mother of the Gods, a statue of, of Parian stone, i. 393.
Mothon, the rock, i. 404.
Mothone, the harlot, i. 404.
———, the city, given by the Lacedæmonians to the Nauplienses, i. 374.
———, during the Trojan war called Pedasus, i. 405.
Mountain Alesium, ii. 245.
——— Ama, i. 303.
——— Anchesmus, i. 88.
——— Anchisia, ii. 253.
——— Apesas, i. 164.
——— Arachnæus, i. 194.
——— Artemisium, i. 192.
——— Atlas, i. 92.
——— Boreum, ii. 321.
——— Buporthmus, i. 220.
——— Cercyius, iii. 39.
——— Chaon, i. 190.
——— Cithæron, iii. 4.
——— Chelydorea, ii. 262.
——— Cnacadius, i. 303.
——— Cnacalus, ii. 271.
——— Coccygius, i. 224.
——— Corycus, iii. 119.
——— Cotylion, ii. 314.
Mountain Crathis, ii. 217. 260.
——— Cresius, ii. 322.
——— Cronius, ii. 55.
——— Cyllene, ii. 231.
——— abounds with white blackbirds, ii. 262.
——— Cynortium, i. 199.
——— Elaion, ii. 314.
——— Eubœa, i. 168.
——— Eva, i. 393.
——— Gerania, i. 120.
——— Geronteum, ii. 260, 268.
——— Helicon, the most fertile of all the mountains in Greece, iii. 55.
——— Hymettus, i. 88.
——— Ida, ii. 155.
——— Ilius, i. 303.
——— Ithome, i. 335. 398.
Mountains, lunar, the, of an immense height, according to Ptolemy, iii. 236.
Mountain of Panellenian Jupiter, i. 206.
——— Lampea, ii. 274.
——— Laphystion, iii. 71.
——— Lapitha, ii. 12.
——— Larysium, i. 296.
——— Latmus, ii. 2.
——— Libethrius, iii. 70.
——— Lycone, i. 190.
——— Marcia, ii. 161.
——— Mænalius, ii. 303.
——— Mycale, ii. 17.
——— the Nomii, ii. 310.
——— Orexis, ii. 255.
——— Ostracina, ii. 251.
——— Pan, i. 91.
——— Parnes, i. 88.
——— Parnon, i. 230.
——— Parthenius, ii. 237.
——— Pentelicus, i. 88.
——— Phalanthum, ii. 301.
——— Pholoe, ii. 286.
——— Pion, ii. 161.
——— Pontinus, i. 226.
——— Ptous, iii. 46.
——— Saturnian, ii. 126.
——— Saurus, ii. 132.
——— Sciathis, ii. 255.
——— Sepia, ii. 260.
———, the Summit, ii. 160.
——— Supreme, iii. 87.
——— Thaumasios, ii. 302.
——— Tilphussius, iii. 68.
——— Titthion, i. 195.
——— Trachys, ii. 254.
——— Typæus, ii. 15.
———, called Various, i. 103.
Mountians, Aroania, ii. 264.

Mountains, the Ceraunii, ii. 60.
Mummius, the Roman general, ii. 24.
——— dedicated a brazen statue of Jupiter in Olympia, ii. 64.
——— leads an army against the Achaians, ii. 184.
——— routs the whole army of the Achaians, ii. 186.
——— throws down the walls of the cities that warred on the Romans—puts an end to their democratic governments—establishes in its stead oligarchies—and lays a tribute on all Greece, ii. 188.
Musæus, i. 37.
——— composed a hymn to Ceres for the Lycomedæ, i. 313. iii. 105.
———, the son of Antiophemus, iii. 100.
———, the prophet, iii. 120.
Muses, only three, according to the sons of Alocus, iii. 56.
——, an account of the, from the MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylus, iii. 286.
Musus, the statuary, ii. 64.
Mycalessus, the city, ruins of, iii. 37.
Mycenæ destroyed by the Argives through envy, i. 167.
———, ruins of, i. 165.
Mycene, the daughter of Inachus, i. 167.
Myiagrus, the hero, ii. 281.
Mylaon, the river, ii. 302. 309.
Myles, the son of Lelex, i. 231. 312.
———, the first that invented a hand-mill, i. 290.
Myndus, i. 209.
Myones, the, ii. 123.
Myonia, the city, iii. 190.
Myron Prienensis celebrated the Messenic war in prose, i. 325.
———, the Byzantian, wrote heroic verses and elegies, iii. 11.
———, the statuary, i. 60. 206. ii. 78. 96, 97. 107. iii. 59.
Myropolis, a porch in Arcadia, ii. 291.
Myrtilus, the charioteer of Œnomaus, a statue of, ii. 24.
———, the son of Mercury, particulars of, ii. 258.
Myrtoessa, ii. 293.
Myrtoon, the sea, ii. 258.
Mys, the carver, i. 75.
Mysæum, the, ii. 224.
Mysius, i. 222.
Mysus, i. 97.
Myus, the city, ii. 152.

N.

Nabis, the Spartan king, i. 389. ii. 168. 333.
Naia, the fountain, i. 306.
Naoclus, ii. 154.
Naphilus, the river, ii. 309.
Narcæus, the son of Physcoa, by Bacchus, ii. 43.
Narcissus, a remarkable story of, iii. 64.
———, the fable of, explained, iii. 314.
Narcydas, the wrestler, ii. 90.
Nasamones, i. 92.
Naucydes, the statuary, i. 169. 185. ii. 96.
Naupactia, verses so called, i. 133.
———, whom composed by, iii. 191.
Naupactus, i. 375.
Nauplia, i. 229.
Nauplius, the son of Neptune and Amymone, i. 229.
Naus, the great grandson of Eumolpus, ii. 258.
Nausicaa, ii. 51.
Naxos, in Sicily, ii. 109.
Neæra, the daughter of Pereus, ii. 232.
Neda, the Nymph, ii. 308. 326.
——, the river, i. 362. 444. ii. 308.
Nelaidas, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 118.
Neleus, the son of Cretheus, and king of Pylus, i. 315. 442. iii. 76.
Nemea, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 60.
———, the village, i. 164.
Nemean lion, the cave of, i. 164.
———, the meaning of the, iii. 285.
Nemesis, why called the angel of Justice, iii. 243.
Neocles, the Theban, iii. 2.
Neolaidas, the pugilist, ii. 76.
Neon, the city, iii 94. 95.
Neoptolemea, a punishment so called, i. 356.
Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, i. 356.
———, a picture of, iii. 156.
Neotheus, ii. 46.
Neptune venerated by the Trœzenians under the appellation of the king, i. 208.
———, called in common by all nations, Pelagæan, Asphaliæan, and Hippian, ii. 209.
——— equestrian, a statue of, dedicated by Ulysses, ii. 256.
———, a grove of, called Poseidonion, iii. 191.
———, the meaning of his contending with the sun, iii. 253.
———, why represented with a trident, iii. 268.

Neptune, Hippocurius, the meaning of, iii. 275.
Neris, the town, i. 230.
Nero, the emperor, i. 228.
——, the gifts of, i. 170.
—— dedicated crowns in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, ii. 31.
—— gave liberty to all the Grecian cities, without injuring the Roman empire, ii. 189.
—— entirely destitute of love, iii. 53.
—— plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphos, iii. 104.
Nessus, the centaur, iii. 189.
Nestane, the ruins of, ii. 238.
Nestor, the son of Neleus, i. 310.
——reigned over the Messenians, i. 316.
——, the house of, i. 408.
——, a picture of, i. 408. iii. 155.
Nicagora, i. 152.
Nicander, a king of the Lacedæmonians, i. 225.
——, the son of Charillus, i. 248.
——, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Nicasipolis, iii. 15.
Nicias, i. 82.
——, the most excellent painter of animals of his time, i. 84. 287. ii. 206.
Nicippe, the daughter of Paseas, ii. 244.
Nicocles Olympionice, i 297.
Nicodamus, the statuary, ii. 68. 82. 90.
Nicomachus, i. 391.
Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, a statue of, ii. 31.
Nicostratus, the son of Menelaus, i. 285.
——, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, ii. 57. 83.
Night, the oracle of, i. 111.
——, according to the Smyrnæans, the mother of the Nemeses, ii. 159.
——, mystic particulars respecting the oracle of, iii. 247.
Nile, the, produces river-horses and crocodiles, i. 401.
Nileus, the son of Codrus, ii. 149.
Niobe, ii. 228.
Nissæa, the haven, i. 107. 121.
——, the tower, i. 121.
Nisus had purple hairs on his head, i. 48. 107.
Nomia, a picture of, iii. 168.
Nomophilaces, the Spartan, i. 260.
Nonacris, a small Arcadian city, ii. 262.
Nonnus, iii. 309.
Nora, the city, iii. 130.
Norax, the son of Mercury, iii. 130.
Nostoi, the poem, iii. 161. 165.
Nus, the river, ii. 309.
Nycteus, a king of Thebes, iii. 10
Nyctimus, the eldest son of Lycaon, ii. 229, 230. 273.
Nymbœum, the lake, i. 299.
Nymphades, the gates, i. 181.
Nymphasia, the fountain, ii. 302.
Nymphs, an account of the, from the MS. Commentary of Hermias on the Phædrus, iii. 288.
——, distributed by Servius into three classes, iii. 302.
—— Sithnidan, i. 109.

O.

Occult, an entrance so called in Altis, ii. 128.
Ocean, why called a river—account of, from the MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylus, and from his Commentaries on the Timæus, iii. 233.
——, according to the Athenians, the father of Nemesis, ii. 159.
Ocnus and his ass, a picture of, iii. 161.
——, the bird, the largest and most beautiful of herons, iii. 162.
Odeum, Athenian, and the statues it contains, i. 21.
——, the building, in Corinth, i. 133.
——, the, in Achaia, ii. 200.
Oœanthea, the city, iii. 191.
Œbalus, i. 182.
——, the son of Cynortas, i. 232.
——, the Spartan, his stratagem, i. 344.
Œbotas, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 190.
Œchalia, i. 315.
Œdipodia, the fountain, iii. 36.
——, verses so called, iii. 11.
Œdipus, iii. 11. 100.
Œnæ, i. 191.
Œneadæ, the, vanquished by the Messenians, i. 376.
Œneus, the son of Porthaon, i. 404.
Œnobius, i. 61.
Œnoe, an Argive city, iii. 114.
Œnomaus, the son of Alxion, ii. 2.
——, a statue of, ii. 24. 45.
——, the pillar of, ii. 53.
Œnone, the island, i. 137.
Œnopion, ii. 158.
Œnotrus, the youngest son of Lycaon, ii. 230.

Œnussæ, the island, i. 404.
Œonus, i. 274.
Œtis, the city, ii. 253.
Œtylos, i. 295.
Œtylum, i. 308.
Ogygus, king of the Ectenæ, iii. 9.
Oibotas, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 82.
Olbia, the city, iii. 130.
Olbiades, i. 9.
Olbius, the river, ii. 256.
Olen, the poet, i. 45. 160. ii. 17. 268. iii. 53.
Olenius, ii. 130.
Olenos, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 193.
Olidas, the Elean, ii. 114.
Olive-tree, called Intorted, i. 200.
Olive-trees which bear no fruit, called by the Trœzenians, Rachi, i. 215.
Olympian Jupiter, a description of his statue, ii. 27.
Olympias, the son of Philip, ii. 239.
————, the mother of Alexander, iii. 15.
————, the fountain, ii. 288.
Olympic games, by whom, and when first established, ii. 18—23.
————, the order in which they are celebrated, ii. 22.
Olympicum, a grove of Jupiter so called, i. 110.
Olympiodorus, a statue of, i. 65.
———— his prosperous undertakings and honours, i. 68. 69.
————, pictures of his achievements in Eleusis, i. 69.
————, the Platonic philosopher, extract from the MSS. Schol. of, on the Gorgias, iii. 210. 211. 259. 269.
————, extract from the MS. Commentary of, on the Phædo, iii. 226. 260. 281. 310. 344.
————, his division of the mundane gods, iii. 251.
Olympiosthenes, the statuary, iii. 59.
Olympium, i. 143.
Olympus, the statuary, ii. 83.
————, a picture of, iii. 166.
Olynthos, or the wild fig-tree, called by the Messenians, Tragos, i. 363.
Omphace, iii. 86.
Omphalion, the painter, the disciple of Nicias, the son of Nicomedes, i. 395.
Onœthus, the statuary, ii. 62.
Onasias, the painter, iii. 11.
Onassimedes, the statuary, iii. 24.
Onatas, a picture of the expedition of, to the Argive Thebes, iii. 8.
Onatas, the statuary, ii. 70. 317. iii. 122.
Onchestus, the city, i. 108.
————, ruins of, iii. 51.
Oncus, the son of Apollo, ii. 277.
Onomacritus, i. 58. ii. 293. 305. iii. 73.
Onomarchus, king of the Phocenses, iii. 93.
Onomasthŝ, victor in the cæstus in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Opheltes, i. 164.
Ophion, a most ancient god, the same with the Orphic dragon, iii. 306.
Ophioneus, the prophet, i. 339.
Ophis, the river, ii. 241.
Opis, the goddess, i. 118. ii. 18.
——, king of the Iapyges, a statue of, iii. 122.
——, the meaning of the word according to Callimachus, iii. 250.
Oplodamas, ii. 296
Opportunity, the first cause, so called by the Pythagoreans, iii. 286.
Opus, the city, iii. 181.
Oracle of Amphilochus, i. 94.
———— Apollo, i. 216. 253. 335. 342—344. 362. 379. ii. 6. 16. 99. 104. 226. 239. 243. 315. iii. 28. 36. 77. 91. 104. 124. 132. 188.
———— Diradiotes, particulars of, i. 189.
———— Clarian Apollo, ii. 159.
———— Apollo at Delphos, said to be the most ancient of any on Earth, iii. 100. 101.
———— respecting Homer, iii. 151.
———— Bacchus, respecting the destruction of Libethria, remarkably verified, iii. 61.
———— Bacis, iii. 34.
————, the, concerning the bladder, iii. 207.
————, remarkable account of one in a temple of Ceres, ii. 204.
———— of Apollo Thryxeus, ii. 204.
———— Euclus the prophet, respecting Homer, iii. 151.
————, a remarkable one of Hercules, ii. 217.
———— of Dodonæan Jupiter, ii. 215.
———— Mercury, a remarkable account of the, ii. 205.
———— Pythian, i. 180. 196.
———— a Sibylline, ii. 168. iii. 112.
———— of Musæus, iii. 112.
———— Trophonius, i. 397.

Oracles, the scientific theory of, unfolded, iii. 230.
———, not the tricks of fraudulent priests—why they ceased, when the Christian religion made its appearance, iii. 230.
Oræa, Trœzen so called, i. 208.
Orchomenii, the, ii. 229.
Orchomenus, the city, particulars of the ancient affairs of, iii. 71.
———, the son of Minyas, iii. 75.
Orestes, i. 112.
———, the tabernacle of, i. 212.
———, reports of, ii. 298.
———, the Roman, is sent by the Romans into Greece, ii. 182.
Oresthasium, the city, ii. 229. 321.
Orestheus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
———————Deucalion, iii. 189.
Orestorius, a commander of the Gauls, unparalleled cruelty of, iii. 144.
Orios, a statue of Apollo so called, i. 221.
Orithyia, ii. 49.
Orneæ, i. 192.
Orneus, the son of Erectheus, i. 192.
Orontes, a Syrian river, ii. 289.
———, the Indian, the dead body of, discovered, which was more than eleven cubits in altitude, ii. 289.
Oropus, the city, i. 91. 94. ii. 175.
Orpheus, i. 37. 206. 267. 270. iii. 53.
———, a statue of, made by the Pelasgi, i. 291. iii. 60.
———, various accounts of the death of, iii. 60. 61.
———, a picture of, iii. 165.
———, the hymns of, preferred to those of Homer for religious purposes, though inferior to them in elegance, iii. 62.
———, the meaning of his being followed by wild beasts, iii. 294.
Orphic hymns, the, which exist at present, proved to be the hymns which were used in the Eleusinian mysteries, iii. 245.
Orphondas, a victor in the Pythian contest with colts, iii. 106.
Orsobia, i. 201.
Ortilochus, i. 313.
————, the son of Diocles, i. 391.
Orus, an Egyptian deity, the same with Apollo and the sun, iii. 268.
Otus, iii. 56.
Oxylus, the son of Hamon, ii. 7.
Ozolæ, the, i. 375. iii. 189.

P.

Pachynum, the promontory, ii. 68. iii. 116.
Pactyas, the Lydian, i. 407.
Pæanius, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic and Pythian games, ii. 118.
Pædige, an inclosure so called, i. 151.
Pæna, a dreadful beast, i. 119.
Pæon, i. 173. ii. 2.
Pæoneus, one of the Curètes, ii. 17.
Pæonius, the statuary, ii. 26.
Pagæ, the town, i. 121.
Pagondas, a victor in the complex horse-race in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Palamedes, i. 178.
————, a picture of, iii. 166.
Palladium, a tribunal in Attica, i. 77.
Pallantium, the city, ii. 229. 319.
Pallas, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
Palus, a plain in Arcadia, ii. 301.
Pamisus, the river, i. 319. 393. 400.
Pammerope, i. 104.
Pamphus, the poet, i. 104. 106. ii. 301. iii. 53. 64.
————————, composed the most ancient hymns for the Athenians, iii. 58.
———, the first that celebrated the Graces in verse, iii. 73.
Pamphylus, the son of Ægimius, i. 201.
Pan, the summit of all the sublunary local gods and dæmons, iii. 220.
——, the, that met Philippides, an account of, iii. 307.
—— Scolitas, a brazen statue of, ii. 291.
—— Sinois, a statue of, ii. 290.
Panathenaia, the greater and less of the Athenians, the meaning of, iii. 222.
Pancirolius, iii. 217.
Pancratiastai, the Olympic, ii. 22.
Pancratium, the meaning of, iii. 242.
Pandarus, the daughters of, pictures of, iii. 164.
Pandion, the monument of, i. 13.
————, a statue of, i. 13. 107.
Pandora, the meaning of the fable of, iii. 212.
Panopeus, the son of Phocus, i. 203.
————, the city, iii. 95. 96.
Panormus, the port, i. 381. ii. 17. 207.
Pantaliontes, the son of Omphalion, ii. 131.
Pantarces, a victor with the vaulting

horse in the Olympic games, ii. 114.
Pantarces, an Elean youth who was enamoured of Phidias, ii. 27.
———, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 101.
Panthalis, a picture of, iii. 153.
Pantias, the statuary, ii. 83. 113.
Panyasis, the poet, iii. 21. 163.
———, verses of, iii. 111.
Paphia, a brazen statue of, i. 308.
Paraballon, a victor in the Olympic repeated course, ii. 90.
Parabyston, a place of judgment among the Athenians, i. 77.
Paracyparissiæ Achaian, the city, i. 298.
Parammon, an appellation of Mercury, ii. 40.
Parapotamii, the city, iii. 95.
Pariani, the, iii. 52.
Paris, i. 296.
———, a picture of, iii. 167.
———, the fable of, respecting his judgment of the goddesses explained, iii. 277.
Parathemidas, iii. 26.
Parnassus, the son of the nymph Cleodora, iii. 102.
Parorcus, the son of Tricolinus, ii. 300.
Paroria, the city, ii. 300.
Paroselene, i. 307.
Parphorus, the Colophonian, ii. 105.
Parrhasius, the painter, i. 75.
———, the grove, ii. 307.
Parrots only to be found among the Indians, i. 200.
Parthaon, ii. 273.
Parthenia, the river, ii. 133.
Parthenius, the Lacedæmonian, iii. 26.
Parthenopæus, the son of Talaus, iii. 36.
Parthenope, the daughter of Ancæus, ii. 156.
Pasicrates, ii. 282.
Pasiteles, the self-taught artist, ii. 52.
Patæchus Achæus, a victor in the Olympic race with the walking horse, ii. 21.
Patræ, the city, i. 234. ii. 193.
———, the women of, remarkably prone to venery, ii. 204.
Patreus, the son of Preugenes, ii. 162. 194.
Patrius, a statue so called, i. 119.
Patrocles, the statuary, ii. 81. iii. 112.
Patroclus, an Athenian island, i. 96.
Patroclus, one of Ptolemy's commanders, i. 246.
———, the friend of Achilles, ii. 51.
———, a picture of, iii. 164.
Pausanias, the son of Plestoanax, leads an army into Attica, i. 242.
———, the son of Cleombrotus, the conduct of, towards a woman whose name was Coa, i. 242.
——— makes a league with the Thebans, and flies to the Tegeatæ, i. 243.
———, the general of the army in the battle at Platææ, story respecting, i. 281.
———, the statuary, iii. 111.
Pausias, the painter, two pictures of, i. 198.
Pauson, the statuary, iii. 111.
Pegæa, the Nymph, ii. 136.
Pegasus, the hoof of, a channel for water, i. 132.
Pelagon, ii. 133.
Pelagos, a place in Arcadia, ii. 248. 250.
Pelarge, the daughter of Potneus, iii. 50.
Pelasgus, ii. 226.
Peleades, the prophetesses, verses of, iii. 120.
Peleus slew Phocus, i. 205.
Pelias, ii. 45.
Pelis, a picture of, iii. 158.
Pellanis, the fountain, i. 294.
Pellene, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 221.
Pelopidas imprisoned by Alexander, who reigned in Thessaly, iii. 29.
Pelops reigned in Pisæa, ii. 3.
——— first built a temple to Mercury, in Peloponnesus, ii. 3.
——— established games to Jupiter Olympius, ii. 18.
———, sacred grove of, ii. 32.
———, a circumstance respecting the bones of, ii. 38.
Pelorus, the Spartan, iii. 9.
Pencala, the river, ii. 231.
Peneleus, iii. 12.
Penelope, i. 293.
Peneus, the river, ii. 135.
Pentathlus, iii. 316.
Penthesilea, a picture of, iii. 168.
Pentheus, the son of Echion, iii. 9.
Penthilus, i. 284.
Pephnos, a maritime city of the Spartans, the island, i. 302.
Perantas, i. 135.

Pereus, the son of Elatus, ii. 231.
Pergamus, ii. 32.
Periander, the son of Cypselus, i. 58.
Peribœa, the daughter of Alcathous, i. 115.
Pericles, a statue of, i. 65.
Pericletus, the statuary, ii. 44.
Periclus, ii. 155.
Periclymenus, iii. 36.
Periclytus, the son of Euthymachus, iii. 123.
Perieres, the son of Æolus, i. 182. 315.
——— of Chalcis, i. 373.
Perilaus, the son of Ancæus, ii. 156.
———, the son of Icarius, ii 299.
Perimeda, the daughter of Œneus, ii. 156.
Perimedes, a picture of, iii. 161.
Periphetes, ii. 273.
Pero, the daughter of Neleus, a picture of, iii. 168.
Peroe, the river, iii. 8.
Persæ, statues of, i. 47.
Persea, a fountain so called, i. 167.
Perseus, i. 150.
———, the founder of Mycenæ, and why he built it, i. 165.
———, particulars of, i. 166. 167.
Persica, the, a Spartan porch, i. 260.
Persuasion, the goddess, a statue of, i. 119.
Peteus, the son of Orneus, i. 192. iii. 183.
Petra, the fountain, iii. 71.
Petrachos, the precipice, iii. 89.
Petrosaca, a place in Arcadia, ii. 252.
Phædimus, a victor over boys in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 21.
Phædra, the daughter of Minos, iii. 32.
———, a picture of, iii. 162.
Phænnis, the prophetess, iii. 120.
———, an oracle of, iii. 126.
Phæstus, i. 142. 151.
Phaeton, the fable of, explained, iii. 198.
Phalæcus, the son of Phayllus, and king of the Phocenses, iii. 94.
Phalæsiæ, the city, ii. 300.
Phalanthus, the son of Agelaus, ii. 301.
———, the Spartan, a remarkable story of, iii. 114.
Phalareus, ii. 46.
Phalarus, the river, iii. 71.
Phalces, the son of Temenus, i. 154. 201.
Phalysius, remarkable story of, iii. 192.
Phana, the city, iii. 132.
Phanas, i. 358.
Pharæ, an Achaian city, i. 390. ii. 162.
——— given to the Patrenses by the Emperor Augustus, ii. 205.
Pharandates, i. 242.
Pharax, ii. 84.
Phares, the son of Philodamia, ii. 206.
Pharis, the son of Mercury, i. 390.
———, a Lacedæmonian city, i. 235. 290.
Pharmakides, or witches, Theban statues, so called, iii. 22.
Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus, and king of the Phocenses, iii. 99.
Phelloe, a small Achaian town, ii. 220.
Phemonoe, the first prophetess of Apollo, iii. 101.
Pheneos, the city, ii. 255, 256.
Pheneus, ii. 256.
Pherenicus, the Elean pugilist, ii. 116.
Pherias, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 110.
Phialia, the city, ii. 229.
Phialus, ii. 229.
———, the son of Bucolion, ii. 234.
Phidias, ii. 23. 28. 85. 142. 144. 222. iii. 8. 112.
——— made a brazen statue of Apollo, i. 64.
——— Minerva, i. 75.
——— statue of Nemesis, i. 91. 93.
———, the workshop of, ii. 38.
Phidolas, the mare of, ii. 109.
Phidon, the most insolent tyrant in Greece, ii. 134.
Philagrius, the son of Cyneus, ii. 172.
Philammon, iii. 74. 105.
Philanorium, i. 225.
Philanthus, the son of Prolaus, ii. 5.
Philesius, the statuary, ii. 74.
Philinus, a statue of, ii. 119.
Philip, the son of Amyntas, caused the Eleans to be involved in a civil war, i. 385.
———, a statue of, ii. 102.
———, not a good commander, &c. ii. 238.
——— brought the bones of Linus to Macedonia, in consequence of a dream, iii. 58.
Philip the younger fortified three cities, which through his contempt of the Greeks he called keys, ii. 166.

Philip, the son of Demetrius, filled all Greece with terror, ii. 165.
———, the eldest son of Cassander, iii. 15.
Philippides, i. 76. ii. 382.
Philippus, the pugilist, ii. 97.
Philistus, the son of Archomenides, ii. 63.
Philitas, a victor in the Olympic cæstus with boys, ii. 20.
Philles, a victor in the Olympic games in wrestling, ii. 98.
Phillias, the river, i. 290.
Phillipeion, a round building in Altis, ii. 54.
Phillus, the daughter of Alcimedon, ii. 251.
Philocles, a commander of the Athenian fleet, iii. 67.
Philoctetes, ii. 33. 241.
Philodamia, the daughter of Danaus, i. 390. ii. 206.
Philogenes, the son of Euctemon, ii. 150.
Philolaus, a name given to Æsculapius by the Spartans, i. 298.
Philomela, iii. 98.
Philomelus, the son of Theotemus, iii. 93.
Philon, the pugilist, ii. 99.
———, a victorious boy in the Olympic race, ii. 113.
Philonides, a statue of, ii. 117.
Philonome, the daughter of Craugasus, iii. 123.
Philopœmen, the son of Craugis, i. 389. ii. 170.
————, general of the forces sent against the Achaians by Attalus, ii. 186.
————, particulars of, ii. 329—337.
————, the last of the Greeks, ii. 336.
Philotas, the grandson of Peneleus, ii. 150. 152.
Philotimus, the statuary, ii. 113.
Philoxenus, i. 4. 217.
Phineus, ii. 46.
Phintas, the son of Sybotas, i. 319. 358.
Phitidia, i. 268.
Phlegon Trallianus, remarkable histories, from the treatise, De Mirabilibus, iii. 240.
Phlegyas, i. 195.
————, the son of Mars, iii. 74.
Phlias, particulars of, i. 159.
Phliasia, i. 193.
Phliasian tower, particulars of, i. 159.
Phlygonium, the city, iii. 95.
Phlyus, the son of Earth, i. 313.
Phocenses, the war of the, against the Thessalians, iii. 90.
————, the memorable transactions of, iii. 96.
Phocic, or sacred war, the causes and particulars of, iii. 93. 94.
——— desperation, the origin of the phrase, iii. 92.
——— war brought to an end by Philip, iii. 95.
——— cities, the destruction and restoration of, iii. 95.
Phocicon, the building, iii. 99.
Phocicus, the city, iii. 95.
Phocis, a city under Parnassus, ii. 155.
———, particulars of, iii. 90.
Phocus, the son of Ornytion, i. 203. iii. 34. 90.
———, a picture of, iii. 164.
Phœbæan marsh in Trœzen, i. 208.
Phœnix, the river, ii. 209.
Phœzi, a place in Arcadia, ii. 249.
Pholoe, the mountain, ii. 132.
Phorbas, the son of Lapithas, ii. 4.
———, the Athenian archon, ii. 125.
Phormio, the son of Asopichus, i. 61. iii. 117.
———, the Spartan, i. 277.
———, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 55.
———, the Erythræan, ii. 160.
Phormis Mænalius, the offerings of, ii. 72.
Phoroneus, by what kings he was succeeded, i. 165.
————, the inventor of fire, according to the Argives, i. 175.
Phradmon, the statuary, ii. 96.
Phraortes, i. 374.
Phrasiclides, the Athenian archon, ii. 88. 283.
Phreattys, i. 78.
Phrixa, the ruins of, ii. 132.
———, the Nymph, ii. 326.
Phrixus, the son of Athamas, i. 61. iii. 71.
———, the river, i. 228
Phrontis, the pilot of Menelaus, a picture of, iii. 158.
Phrudarchidas, iii. 26.
Phryne, the courtezan, i. 50.
———, a golden statue of, made by Praxiteles, iii. 125.
Phrynichus, the poet, iii. 167.
Phrynon, ii. 61.
Phylacus, an heroic grove of, iii. 108.

Phyleus, the eldest son of Augeas, ii. 3.
Physcoa, a choir so called by the Eleans, ii. 43.
Picture in the Athenian porch called Various, particulars of, i. 39.
——— of Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven, i. 50.
——— of Pentheus and Lycurgus, suffering the punishment of their impiety towards Bacchus, i. 50.
——— of the enterprise of Ulysses against the suitors, i. 132.
——— in the tomb of Xenodice, i. 143.
Pictures in the temple of Æsculapius among the Messenians, i. 394.
Piera, the fountain, ii. 43.
Pieria, the wife of Oxylus, ii. 9.
Pierus, the river, ii. 205.
———, the Macedonian, ordered that nine Muses should be worshipped, iii. 37.
Pindar, i. 112. 206. 306. 316. 392. ii. 23. 36. 79. 151. 220. iii. 43. 127.
———, statue of, i. 205.
———, verses of, i. 306.
——— composed hymns in honour of Ammon, iii. 31.
———, what first induced him to compose verse, iii. 44.
———, remarkable dream of, 45.
———, ruins of the house of, iii. 49.
———, a verse of, iii. 102.
———, the throne of, iii. 151.
Pioniæ, the city, iii. 35.
Pionis, one of the posterity of Hercules, iii. 35.
Pipes of the ancients, a curious account of, from two Greek MSS. iii. 309, 310.
Piræa, the grove, i. 154.
Piræus, i. 1.
Pirasus, the son of Argus, i. 170.
Pirene, water of, i. 131.
Pirithous, ii. 26.
———, a picture of, iii. 163.
Pirus, the river, ii. 193.
Pisander, the Camirensian, a poet, i. 228. ii. 269.
Pisias, the statuary, i. 9.
Pisidorus, the Olympic victor, ii. 15. 93.
Pisis, a picture of, iii. 156.
Pisistratus, i. 58. 173.
——— collected the scattered verses of Homer into one regular poem, ii. 221.
Pison, the statuary, ii. 81.
Pisus Perieres, ii. 45.
Pitanati, the, i. 269.
Pitho, one of the Graces, according to Hermesianax the poet, iii. 73.
Pittacus, the Mitylenæan, iii. 150.
Pittheus taught the art of speaking, i. 210.
Pityreus, i. 194.
Pityusa, the island, i. 220.
Platæa, the daughter of king Asopus, iii. 1.
———, the city, the destruction of, iii. 2.
Platanista, Spartan games so called, i. 260.
Plataniston, the fountain, i. 401. ii. 310.
Platanistus, the promontory, i. 299.
Platanius, the river, iii. 48.
Platensis, i. 105.
Plato, a beautiful saying of, ii. 190.
——, according to the ancients, descended from Apollo—remarkable dream of, with its explanation by the Socratic Simmias, iii. 225.
——, observation of, in the Gorgias, iii. 3.
——, extract from the Phædrus of, iii. 270.
——— an epistle of, iii. 281.
——, his account of the advantages which men derived from prophecy, iii. 284.
Plemnæus, i. 154.
Plestoanax, i. 242.
Plethrium, a place so called in the Gymnasium in Elis, ii. 137.
Plistænus, a statue of, ii. 116.
Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, i. 242.
Plistus, the river, iii. 109.
Plotinus, iii. 296.
Pluto, called by Pindar, Chrusenios, iii. 45.
——, why represented with a helmet, iii. 269.
——, why represented with a key, iii. 288.
——, beautiful account of, from the MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylus, iii. 288.
Podalirius, i. 311.
Podares, ii. 247.
Pœmandrus, the son of Chæresilaus, iii. 39.
Pœmenides, groves sacred to the Nereides, so called, i. 128.
Poleas, ii. 282.

Polemarchus, i. 237.
Polenor, the Centaur, ii. 13.
Polichus, the statuary, ii. 97.
Polites, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 107.
———, a servant of Menelaus, a picture of, iii. 153.
Pollux, i. 271. ii. 46.
Poloson, a place in Tanagra, iii. 39.
Polus, ii. 294.
Polyandria, busts so called, i. 190.
Polyarchus, iii. 139.
Polybius, the son of Lycortas, ii. 243.
———, a statue of, ii. 292. 304. 329.
Polybus, i. 141.
Polycaon, the son of Lelex, i. 231. 312.
———, the son of Butes, i. 314.
Polychares, the Messenian, i. 321.
Polycles, the statuary, ii. 86.
———, the sons of statuaries, iii. 181.
———, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 77.
Polycletus, the statuary, i. 177. 187. 190. 199. 284. ii. 44. 79. 87. 98. 293.
Polyctor, the Elean, ii. 58. 138.
Polydamas, a man of great stature, a statue of, ii. 88.
———, instances of his valour, ii. 88. 223.
Polydectes, the son of Eunomus, i. 248.
Polydora, the daughter of Meleager, i. 316.
Polydore, the son of Cadmus, iii. 10.
Polydorus, a Spartan king, i. 264. ii. 336.
———, the son of Ippomedon, the statue of, i. 178.
———, the son of Alcamenes, i. 237.
———, a statue of, i. 262.
Polyducea, the fountain, i. 290.
Polygnotus, the painter, i. 44. 57. iii. 8.
———, the pictures of, an account of, iii. 152—169.
Polyidus, i. 118.
Polymestor, the son of Æginetas, ii. 235.
Polymnestus Colophonius, i. 37.
Polynices, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 20.
———, the son of Œdipus, iii. 11.
———, a statue of, i. 178.
Polypemon, the robber, i. 105.
Polyphron, iii. 139.
Polypithes Lacon, a victor in the horse-race of the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Polypœtes, the son of Pirithous, a picture of, iii. 156.
Polytichides, the town, ii. 159.
Polytion, house of, i. 5.
Polyxena, a picture of, iii. 155.
Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes, ii. 7.
Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemus, i. 288.
Pompus, an Arcadian king, ii. 235.
Pontinus, the grove, i. 226.
Porch, royal, in Attica, i. 2.
———, and the statues which it contains, i. 7.
——, which contains the pictures of the twelve gods, i. 8.
—— called Various, i. 39.
———, its contents, i. 40.
———, statues before it, i. 40.
Porinas, the river, ii. 260.
Porphyrion reigned in Attica prior to Actæus, i. 39.
Porphyry, iii. 297.
Port, secret, in Ægina, i. 205.
Porta Baptista, iii. 217.
Posidion, the, ii. 224.
Posidonias, the city, i. 208.
Pothæus, the architect, ii. 124.
Pothos, the meaning of the word, according to Plato, iii. 251.
Potniæ, the ruins of, iii. 16.
———, goddesses, iii. 16.
Prax, the great grandson of Pergamus, i. 292.
Praxias, the statuary, iii. 135.
Praxidamas, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 122.
Praxidica, a statue of, i. 296.
Praxilla, the poetess, i. 267.
Praxiteles, the statuary, i 5. 110. 119—121. ii. 44. 144. 243. iii. 5. 22. 53. 82. 186.
———, the sons of, i. 20.
Preugenes, ii. 162.
Priam, a picture of, iii. 158.
Priapus, a statue of, iii. 63.
Prias, ii. 133.
Priene, the city, ii. 152.
Prinus, a place so called in Arcadia, ii. 237.
Proclea, the daughter of Clytius, iii. 123.
Procles, the son of Aristodemus, i. 233.
———, the Carthaginian, i. 440.
———, the son of Pityreus, and leader of the Iones, ii. 156.

Procles, the boy, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 113.
Proclus, the Carthaginian, i. 182.
———, the philosopher, extract from the MS. Commentaries of, on the Alcibiades, iii 261. 309.
———, extract from the MSS. Schol. of, on the Cratylus, iii. 200. 208. 223. 233. 286. 287. 307.
———, extract from the Scholia of, on Hesiod, iii. 233. 310.
———— MS. hymn of, entitled ὑμνος κοινος, or a common hymn, iii. 243.
———— treatise of, De Magia, iii. 291.
———— Commentaries of, on Plato's Republic, iii. 278.
———— six books of, on the Theology of Plato, iii. 255.
———— Commentaries of, on the Timæus, iii. 228. 234. 247. 300. 315.
Procne, i. 63.
Procris, the daughter of Erectheus, i. 103. iii. 36.
———, a picture of, iii. 163.
Prodigies significant of the ruin of the Messenians, i. 344—346.
Prodition baneful to the Achaians, ii. 172.
Proteus, i. 145. 166.
———, daughters of, the statues of, i. 151.
Prolaus, ii. 5.
Promachos, a stone statue of Hercules, iii. 22.
Promachus, the son of Parthenopæus, iii. 37.
———, a statue of, i. 178. iii. 114.
———, the son of Hercules, ii. 273.
Promedon, a picture of, iii. 166.
Prometheus, a definition of, iii. 213.
———, why burning lamps were employed in the contest sacred to, iii. 224.
———, the son of Codrus, ii. 153.
Promne, the wife of Buphagus, ii. 257.
Promontory, a, called the jaw-bone of an ass, i. 298.
Pron, the hill, i. 225.
Pronomus, the piper, i. 383.
———, a statue of, iii. 24.
Propylæa, vestibules so called, i. 56.
Proserpine's grove, a picture of, iii. 165.
Posymna, i. 168.
Prosymne, the statue of, i. 227.
Protesilaus revenged on himself Perses Artabætes, i. 241. ii. 46.
———, a picture of, iii. 164.
Protolaus, the Olympic pugilist, ii. 90.
Protophanes, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, i. 97. ii. 57.
Providence, an energy prior to intellect, iii. 356.
Proxenus, ii. 282.
Prytanes, the Corinthian kings, i. 136.
Prytaneum, contents of, i. 45. 49. 117.
———, the, in Altis, ii. 40.
Prytanis, ii. 55.
Psamathe, i. 119.
Psamathus, i. 306.
Psellus, extract from a very rare Greek MS. of, iii. 292.
Piphæum, a sea so called, i. 215.
Psophis, the son of Archon, ii. 273.
———, the city, ii. 273.
———, the daughter of Eryx, ii. 273.
Psylli, the, iii. 55.
Psyttalia, a small island before Salamis, i. 99.
Ptolemy, the son of Berenice, transactions of, i. 17. 18.
Ptolemy Philometer, particulars of, i. 21. 22.
———, brazen statues of, i. 22.
———, the brother of Lysandra, i. 41.
———, the son of Lagus, a statue of, ii. 115.
———, the son of Damasichthon, iii. 13.
———, a victor in the Pythian contest with the two-yoked car, iii. 106.
———, the astronomer, studied astronomy for forty years in the Pteroi of Canobus, iii. 283.
Ptolichus, the statuary, ii. 81.
Ptolis, a plain in Arcadia, ii. 252.
Ptous, the son of Athamas and Themistus, iii. 46.
Puniceus, a place of judgment among the Athenians, i. 77.
Pyla, king, i. 107.
Pylades, i. 203. 233.
———— planned the death of Neoptolemus, i. 205.
Pyleus, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.
Pylos, a city in the promontory of Coryphasium, i. 442.

Pysus, an Elean city, the ruins of, ii. 135.
Pyræchmes, ii. 8.
Pyrias, ii. 327.
Pyrilampes, a victor in the Olympic Dolichos, ii. 83.
———, the statuary, ii. 83. 114. 117.
Pyrrha, the daughter of Creon, iii. 20.
Pyrrhichus, the god, one of the Curetes, i. 305.
———, a Spartan town, i. 305.
Pyrrhicius, i. 295.
Pyrrho, the son of Pistocrates, a statue of, ii. 140.
Pyrrhus, the architect, ii. 125.
———, a victor in the Olympic horserace, ii. 77.
———, the son of Æacidas Aribbas, statue of, i. 27.
———, particulars of, i. 27—33.
———, flies to Tarentum, i. 32.
———, wars on Antigonus and the Greeks, i. 32—35.
———, his death, i. 35.
———, a trophy of, i. 181.
———, the son of Æacides, a statue of, ii. 112.
———, the son of Achilles, i. 310.
——— plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphos, iii. 104.
Pythæus, a statue of Apollo so called, i. 221.
Pythagoras, the painter, iii. 74.
———, the statuary, ii. 85. 90. 108. 121.
———, the wise, the great grandson of Hippasus, i. 159. iii. 264.
Pytharatus, the Messenian commander, i. 329.
Pytharcus, the Olympic victor in the stadium, ii. 93.
Pytheas, the general of the Bœotians, ii. 183.
Pythes, a statue of, ii. 113.
Pythian games, an account of the, iii. 105—107.
Pythionice, i. 102.
Pythis, the son of Delphos, iii. 103.
Pythocritus, a victorious player on the pipe in the Olympic games, ii. 112.
Pythodorus, the statuary, iii. 70.
Python, the serpent, the symbolical meaning of, unfolded, iii. 260.
Pyttalus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 118.
Pyttius, ii. 4.

Q.

Quadrangle, an enclosure in the Elean Gymnasium, ii. 138.
Quinquertium, the meaning of the, iii. 260.

R.

Rhacius, a leader of the Cretans, ii. 153.
Rhacotis, a small Ægyptian city, ii. 57.
Rhamnus, the town, i. 91.
Rharium, a plain in Attica, i. 105.
Rhegnidas, king of the Phliasians, i. 159.
Rheti, channels so called, i. 104. 190.
Rhexibius, a victorious pancratiast in the Olympic games, ii. 122.
Rhianus, the Cretan, a verse of, i. 313.
——— celebrated the Messenic war in verse, i. 325. 349.
———, verses of, i. 358.
Rhinoceros, the, why so called, iii. 41.
Rhion, the promontory, ii. 207. 234.
Rhipes, an Achaian city, ii. 162.
Rhodes, the island, i. 143.
Rhodos, a place in Sparta so called, i. 310.
Rhœcus Ambryssensis, iii. 92.
———, the son of Philæus, one of the first that taught how to cast brass, and melt it into statues, ii. 256.
———, the statuary, iii. 190.
Rhun, a place in Attica so called, i. 111.
Rhypæ, the ruins of, ii. 194. 209.
Rivers Ilissus and Eridanus, i. 49.
——— which ought to be called brumal, and which cold, ii. 286. 287.
Road, called the chariot, i. 94.

S.

Sabbe, a Hebrew propheteſs, iii. 119.
Sacadas, a victor in the Olympic games with pipes, i. 383. ii. 112.
———, a statue of, iii. 59. 105.
Sacæa, the island, ii. 146.
Sæsara, i. 103.
Salagus, the son of Œnopion, ii. 158.
Salamis, i. 110.
———, an Athenian island, i. 96.
Sallust, extract from the golden treatise of, On the Gods and the World, iii. 247. 277.

Salmoneus, the daughter of, a picture of, iii. 163.
Saloe, the lake, ii. 214.
Samia, the city, ii. 13.
———, the daughter of the river Mæander, ii. 156.
Samicon, ii. 11.
Samos, a city of the Ionies, ii. 156.
Samothrace, the island, ii. 156.
Samus, the son of Ancæus, ii. 156.
Sandion, i. 118.
Saon, iii. 85.
Sappho, i. 65. iii. 53. 58.
Sardinia, the island, iii. 128.
———, free from all poisonous herbs, except one, which causes those who eat it to die laughing, iii. 132.
Sardus, the son of Maceris, iii. 129.
Sarmatian coat of mail, and the manner in which the Sarmatians fight, i. 54.
Saron drowned in pursuing a hind, i. 208.
Satrapes, a statue so called by the Eleans, ii. 143.
Saturn, why fabled to devour his children, iii. 196.
———, why called αγκυλομητης, iii. 196.
———, why represented as an old man, and slow in his motion, iii. 196.
———, what is meant by his castrating his father Heaven, iii. 301.
———, the meaning of his swallowing a colt and a stone, instead of Neptune and Jupiter, iii. 303.
———, the meaning of his being dethroned by Jupiter, iii. 285.
Satyr, statue of one, by Praxiteles, i. 50.
Satyridæ, islands so called, i. 60.
Satyrus, the pugilist, ii. 85.
Saunion, the fountain, iii. 187.
Scæa, the daughter of Danaus, ii. 148.
Scambonidæ, i. 104.
Scandea, the haven, i. 299.
Scedasus, iii. 26.
Scenoma, a place in Sparta so called, i. 281.
Scephrus, the son of Tegeates, ii. 338.
Sceptre, the, which Vulcan made for Jupiter, particulars of, iii. 87. 88.
———, the meaning of one being fabricated by Vulcan, iii. 87. 88.
Schedius, king of the Phocenses, iii. 97.
———, a picture of, iii. 166.
Scheria, the island, i. 137.
Schiste, the road, iii. 99.
Scias, a building so called in Sparta, i. 266.
Scillus, the ruins of, ii. 14.
Sciron, i. 108. 122.
Scirum, i. 99.
Scirus, the prophet, i. 100.
Scopas, the statuary, i. 119. 151. 185. ii. 142. 286. 323. 325.
Scorpion, a, which had wings similar to those of a locust, iii. 41.
Scortitas, a place full of oaks, i. 259.
Scyllæum, the promontory of, i. 219.
Scyllis, the statuary, i. 164. 214. ii. 44. 126.
———, the diver, a statue of, iii. 134.
Scyppius, the city, ii. 155.
Scyras, the river, i. 305.
Seasons, the, beautiful account of, from the Commentaries of Proclus on the Timæus, iii. 315.
Seer, a worm, from the thread of which the Seres make garments, ii. 145.
Selasia, the ruins of, i. 259.
Seleadas, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Selemnus, ii. 208.
———, the meaning of his being changed into a river, iii. 301.
Seleucus, particulars of, i. 40. ii. 116.
———, a statue of, ii. 102.
Selinuntes, the town, i. 298.
Selinus, the river, ii. 212.
Semele, i. 303.
———, the meaning of her being led back to heaven by Bacchus, iii. 272.
———, the symbolical signification of, iii. 302.
Semnæ, or the Furies, i. 76.
Senate-house of the five hundred, and the statues it contains, i. 9.
Seps, the serpent, ii. 232.
Serambus, the statuary, ii. 102.
Serapion, the Alexandrian pancratiast, ii. 59.
Serapis, the same with the Pluto of the Greeks, iii. 25.
Seria, the island, ii. 145.
Ship, an account of a prodigious large one built by Ptolemy Philopater, ii. 199.
Sicily, an account of the nations of, ii. 68.
Sicyon, i. 157.
Sicyonia, i. 193.
Sicyonians, the debility of, i. 142.
———, their manner of burying their dead, i. 143.
———, the treasury of the, iii. 115.
Sida, i. 298.
Side, the daughter of Danaus, i. 299.
Silanion, the statuary, ii. 86. 111. 112.

Silenus, i. 306.
———, the eldest of the Satyrs, i. 60.
———, the Marsian, i. 62.
Simangelus, iii. 26.
Simon, the statuary, ii. 72.
Simonides, i. 4. 251. iii. 5.
———, an elegy of, iii. 159.
Simplicius, extract from the Commentaries of, on Aristotle's Physics, iii. 280.
———— De Cælo, iii. 313.
Simus, the son of Phialus, ii. 235.
Simulus, the Messenian, ii. 205.
Sinis, the robber, i. 102. 126.
Sinon, the companion of Ulysses, a picture of, iii. 158.
Siope, a road so called in Elis, ii. 139.
Siphnii, the, a treasury of, iii. 115.
Sipte, a fortified city of Thrace, ii. 75.
Sipylus, the town, i. 184.
Siræ, a place in Arcadia, ii. 273.
Sisyphus, the sons of, i. 135.
———, a picture of, iii. 169.
———, the meaning of the fable respecting the punishment of, explained, iii. 259.
Sleep, above all the deities, friendly to the Muses, according to the Trœzenians, i. 211.
——, statue of, i. 152.
—— and Death, statues of, i. 282.
————, why said by the ancients to be twins, iii. 276.
Sluggish, a stone so called in Sparta, i. 296.
Smenos, the river, i. 304.
Smicythus, an account of his gifts in Olympia, ii. 70.
Smiles, the statuary, ii. 157.
Socrates, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 95.
———, the son of Sophroniscus, made two statues for the Athenians, i. 58. iii. 49. 74.
Sodamas, i. 256.
———, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 86.
Soidas, the statuary, ii. 195.
Solon, the Athenian, iii. 150. 188.
Somis, the statuary, ii. 113.
Soos, the son of Proclus, i. 248.
Sophius, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 81.
Sophocles, i. 77.
———, statue of, i. 53.
Soron, a grove of oaks in Arcadia, ii. 272.
Sosander, the Smyrnæan, ii. 58. 138.
Sosigenes, ii. 294.
Sosipolis, the Dæmon, ii. 126.
Sostratus, the pancratiast, ii. 85.
Sostratus Pelleneus, a victor over boys in the Olympic stadium, ii. 192.
Sotades, a victor in the Olympic longer course, ii. 122.
Sparta, the image of, i. 167.
———, the wall of, demolished by the Achaians, ii. 168.
Spartans, the, admire poetry the least of all men, i. 251.
————, sacrifice canine whelps to Mars, i. 272.
Sparton, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 162.
Spelaitai, statues of Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo, so called, iii. 170.
Sphacteria, the island, ii. 135.
Sphæria, a Trœzenian island, i. 216.
Sphærii, the, i. 271.
Sphærus, ii. 26.
Sphettus, the son of Trœzen, i. 209.
Sphinx, the particulars of, iii. 251.
———, explanation of the fable of, iii. 311.
Sphirus, the son of Machaon, i. 187.
Sphregidion, the cavern, iii. 7.
Spiders, curious particulars of, iii. 14.
Spintharus, the architect, iii. 102.
Stadicus, the statuary, ii. 86.
Stadium of white stone, i. 49.
Stags, white, ii. 262.
Statues before the entrance of the temple of Juno, i. 169.
——— and sacred gifts among the Eleans, an account of the, ii. 54.
——— in Olympia of thirty-five boys that were shipwrecked, ii. 67.
———, the meaning of those that were called Diopeteis, iii. 214.
Stature, gigantic, common in the heroic age—satisfactorily accounted for by the Platonic philosophy, iii. 237.
——— remarkable histories of, from Phlegon Trallianus, iii. 240.
Stazusa, the fountain, i. 144.
Stemnatius, a grove in Sparta so called, i. 292.
Stenyclerus, the royal city of the Messenians, i. 318.
Stenyclerus, the plain, i. 399.
Stephanus de Urbibus, curious extract from, respecting Pan, iii. 220.
Sterrhis, the city, iii. 95.
Stesichorus Himeræus, i. 185. 289. ii. 229. iii. 4. 21. 155. 158.
Steunos, a cavern in Phrygia, ii. 231.
Sthenelaidas, one of the Spartan Ephori, i. 250.

Sthenelas, i. 166.
Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, i. 172.
———, the statue of, i. 178. iii. 114.
Sthenis, the statuary, ii. 118.
———, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 119.
Stiris, the city, iii. 183.
Stomius, the statuary, ii. 113.
———, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 81.
Stratius, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.
Straton, the statuary, i. 187.
———, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 57.
Strongyle, the city, iii. 116.
Strophius, a picture of, iii. 153.
Struthuntes, the promontory, i. 225.
Stymphalian birds, the meaning of the, iii. 285.
Stymphalides, the, a description of, ii. 269.
Stymphalus, the son of Elatus, ii. 231.
———, the city, ii. 268.
Styx, the water of, ii. 263.
——, remarkable properties of its water, ii. 264.
——, of what the cause, iii. 303.
Sulpitius, ii. 175.
Sumateus, ii. 230.
Sumatia, the city, ii. 230.
Sun, the, a brazen statue of, i. 308.
———, why said to be drawn by four horses, iii. 196.
———, why represented as perpetually young, iii. 196.
———, table of the, in Æthiopia, iii. 235.
Sunium, the promontory, i. 1.
Surma Antigones, a place in Thebes, iii. 48.
Sybariades, a victor in the Olympic race with colts, ii. 20.
Sybotas, the son of Dotadas, i. 319.
Sylla, iii. 16.
—— took Athens, and on what account, i. 51—53.
—— guilty of many cruelties to several nations, iii. 69.
—— died miserable, iii. 69.
Sylli, the city, iii. 131.
Symmachus, a wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 76.
Synallaxis, the Nymph, ii. 136.
Syros, the city, i. 311.
Sytha, the river, i. 145.
Sythæ, the rivers, i. 157.

T.

Tabutes, a Persian, ii. 152.
Tacus, a remarkable account from, of the stone Carystius, iii. 215.
Talus, the son of Œnopion, ii. 158.
Tænarum, the promontory, i. 306.
Talaus, i. 141.
Taletum, a place in Sparta, in which they sacrifice horses to the sun, i. 291.
Tanagra, the daughter of Æolus, iii. 39.
Tanarus, i. 295.
Tantalus, a picture of, iii. 178.
———, the port, ii. 84.
———, sepulchre of, ii. 84.
Tanus, the river, i. 230.
Taras, the hero, iii. 115.
Taraxippos, the, in Altis, ii. 129.
Tartessus, a Spanish river, ii. 123.
Tarynthe, the city, i. 166.
Tauropilis, i. 117.
Taurosthenes, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 98.
Taxilus, the general of the army of Mithridates, iii. 180.
Taygetus, the mountain, i. 290.
Tectæus, the statuary, i. 214. iii. 73.
Tegea, the city, ii. 229.
Tegeatæ, the, particulars of, ii. 322. 323.
Telamon is condemned for contributing to the death of Phocus, i. 205.
Teleboæ, i. 103.
Teleclus, a Spartan king, slain by the Messenians, i. 248.
Telegone, the daughter of Pharis, i. 391.
Telemachus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 109.
Telephus, ii. 33. iii. 12.
———, a sacred grove of, ii. 382.
Telesarchus, iii. 139.
Telesilla, i. 200. 222.
———, the statue of, i. 179.
———, gallant behaviour of, i. 179. 180.
Telestas, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 111.
Telestes, i. 135.
Telles, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 162.
Tellias, the Phocensian prophet, iii. 92.
Tellis, a picture of, iii. 160.
Tellon, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 102.
Telondes, iii. 50.

Temenis, gates of, a city so called, i. 98.
Temenium, i. 228.
Temenus, i. 173.
———, the son of Pelasgus, ii. 268.
———, the son of Phegeus, ii. 275.
Temnis, the town, ii. 34.
Temple of Achilles, i. 292. 303.
——— Æantides, i. 115.
——— the boy Æsculapius, ii. 279. 296.
——— Cotylæus Æsculapius, i. 288.
——— Æsculapius Demænetus, ii. 132.
——— Æsymnetes, ii. 202.
——— Agnetas, i. 271.
——— Ajax, i. 96.
——— Alexandra, i. 287.
——— Amazonian Apollo, i. 306.
——— Ammon in Libya, i. 373. iii. 31.
——— Amphiaraus, i. 94. 186.
———, called Anactorus, i. 163.
——— Antinous, ii. 244.
——— Aphæa, in which Pindar composed verses for the Æginetæ, i. 206.
——— Aphneus, ii. 322.
——— Apollo Acesius, ii. 140.
——— Carneus, i. 165. 271. 304.
——— Delphinian, i. 47.
——— Diradiates, i. 188.
——— Epibaterius, i. 213.
——— Epidelium, i. 300.
——— the Helper, ii. 314.
——— Ismenios, iii. 20.
——— Latous, i. 124.
——— Lycius, i. 174.
——— Maleatas, i. 199.
——— Parrhasius, ii. 309.
——— Platanistius, i. 219.
——— Pythian, ii. 259. 260.
——— Thearian, i. 211.
——— Theoxenius, ii. 222.
——— Tutelaris, i. 121.
——— in Delphos plundered by the Phocenses, iii. 93.
———, various reports of the construction of, iii. 101.
——— dedicated by the emperor Adrian, iii. 182.
——— Arsinoe, i. 265.
——— Bacchus Acratophoros, ii. 311.
——— Aigobalos, iii. 17.
——— Axites, ii. 280.
Temple of Bacchus Calydonius, ii. 201.
——— Colonata, i. 268.
——— Cresius, i. 188.
——— Lampter, ii. 222.
——— Leucyanitas, ii. 132.
——— Lysian, iii. 82.
——— Melanægis, i. 221.
——— Nyctelius, i. 111.
——— Polites, ii. 280.
——— Baton, i. 186.
——— Bellerophon, i. 130.
——— Belus in Babylon, i. 373.
——— the Cabiri remarkably holy from the beginning, iii. 50.
——— Calathaia, i. 311.
——— Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, i. 309.
——— Castor, i. 266.
——— the river Cephissus, i. 178.
——— Ceres Chamyne, ii. 131.
——— Eleusinia, i. 291. ii. 258. 277. 289. iii. 8.
——— Europa, iii. 82.
———, a holy one of Ceres, i. 295. 355. ii. 240.
——— Ceres Mycalessian, iii. 37.
——— Mysian, i. 171.
——— Panachaia, ii. 211.
——— Pelasgis, i. 183.
——— Prostasia and Proserpine, i. 154.
——— Stiritis, iii. 183.
——— Thermasia, i. 219.
——— Thesmia, ii. 259.
——— Thesmophoros, i. 116. 188. iii. 32. 178.
——— Virid, i. 56.
———, the Wool-bearer, i. 121.
——— Cleta, i. 283.
——— Clymenum, i. 223.
——— Cyamitas, i. 102.
——— Cychreus, i. 99.
——— Diana Æginæa, i. 270.
——— Diana Ætola, iii. 192.
——— Agrotera, ii. 219.
——— Alphæa, ii. 136.
——— Apanchomene, ii. 272.
——— Aricina, i. 198.
——— Astratea, i. 306.
——— Brauronian, i. 61.
——— Calliste, ii. 301.
——— Cnacalesia, ii. 271.
——— Cordace, ii. 184.
——— Coryphæan, i. 200.
——— Daphnæa, i. 304
——— Despoina, ii. 304.
——— Dictynna, i. 265.

Temple of Diana Dictynna, i. 304. iii. 185.
——— Ephesian, ii. 151. 159. 270.
——— Hegemache, i. 271.
——— Hegemone, ii. 304.
——— the Huntress, i. 49. ii. 221.
——— Hymnia, ii. 235. 253.
——— Iphigenia, i. 221.
——— Isora, i. 270.
——— Laphria, ii. 194.
——— Limnæa, i. 144.
——— Limnatis, i. 320. 393. ii. 200. 340.
——— Lycean, i. 211.
——— Lycoatis, ii. 303.
——— Mysia, i. 292.
——— Orthia, i. 190. 278.
——— Ceres Paidotrophos, i. 402.
——— Pheræa, i. 153.
——— Philomeirax, ii. 139.
——— Propylæa, i. 105.
——— Pryonian, ii. 260.
——— Rural, ii. 295.
——— Saronis, i. 208.
——— the Saviour, i. 210. ii. 311.
——— Sciadis, ii. 300.
——— Stymphalia, ii. 270.
——— Triclaria, ii. 196.
——— the mother Dindymene, ii. 191.
——— Dionysius, i. 50.
———, a most ancient one, i. 50.
——— Dryops, the son of Apollo, i. 403.
——— Earth, i. 262.
———, which is called Gaseptum, i. 265.
———, the nurse of youths, i. 56.
——— wide-bosomed, ii. 218.
——— the gods, called Epidotæ, i. 199.
——— the river Erymanthus, ii. 275.
——— Euclea, i. 37.
——— Eurynome, ii. 314.
——— Fortune Acræa, i. 144.
——— the Furies, ii. 216. 298.
——— the Good Dæmon, iii. 82.
——— Good Fortune, iii. 82.
——— the Good God, ii. 302.
——— the Greatest Gods, ii. 207.
——— the Great Goddesses, ii. 292.
——— the Great Mother, i. 265.
——— Gorgasus and Nicomachus, i. 319.
Temple of Hades, ii. 142
——— Hebe, i. 158. 160.
——— Hercules Abia, i. 390.
——— Cynosarges, i. 48.
——— Ippodotos, iii. 50.
——— Manticlus, i. 373.
——— Hermes Æpytus, ii. 326.
——— Hilaria and Phœbe, i. 276.
——— Hippolytus, i. 213.
——— Hippósthenes, i. 274.
——— the Hours, i. 178.
——— Ino, i. 308.
——— Isis, ii. 217.
———, which is called Pelagias, i. 136.
———, which is called Ægyptia, i. 136.
——— Juno, Jupiter Panellenius, and to all the gods, built by the emperor Adrian, i. 46.
——— Juno Acræa, i. 188.
——— Antheia, i. 183.
——— Argive, i. 268.
——— Bunæan, i. 137.
——— Hyperchiria, i. 268.
——— the Perfect, ii. 294.
——— Prodromia, i. 154.
——— Jupiter Agoræa, i. 262.
——— Aphesius, i. 123.
——— Capitolinus, i. 136.
——— Charmon, ii. 251.
——— the Congregator, ii. 211.
——— Cosmetas, i. 280.
——— Dodonæan, i. 33.
——— Epidotos, ii. 243.
——— Euanemus, i. 268.
——— Ithomæan, i. 344.
——— Judicial, iii. 49.
——— the King, iii. 82.
——— Larissæus, i. 189.
——— Lycean, ii. 290.
——— Messapeus, i. 290.
——— Nemean, i. 164. 178.
——— Olympius, i. 270. ii. 199.
———, built by Deucalion, i. 46.
——— the Opulent, i. 288.
——— Philius, ii. 293.
——— *Pluvius, iii. 82.*
——— *Pulvereus, i. 111.*
——— *Jupiter the Saviour, i. 178. 213. 302. ii. 243. 292.*
——— *Tropæus, i. 265.*
——— in Olympia, the description of the, ii. 23.
——— Lycurgus, i. 277.
——— Machaon, i. 310.

Temple of the goddesses Maniai, ii. 298.
——— Maro and Alpheus, i. 265.
——— Melampus Amythaon, i. 122.
——— Menelaus, i. 288.
——— Messene, the daughter of Triopas, i. 395.
———, called Metron, or, the temple of the Mother of the Gods, ii. 54.
——— or Morpho, i. 275.
——— Mercury Acacesius, ii. 291.
——— Criophorus, iii. 42.
——— Cyllenius, ii. 262.
——— Minerva Agorea, i. 262.
——— Alea, ii. 244. 270.
——— Apaturia, i. 216.
——— Asia, i. 304.
——— Axiopœna, i. 274.
Temples, three, of Minerva Celeuthea, i. 264.
Temple of Minerva, called Chalkioicos, iii. 102.
——— Chalinetis, i. 134.
——— Coria, ii. 268.
——— Cranæa, iii 180.
——— Cydonia, ii. 132.
——— Ergane, i. 280.
——— Hippolaïtis, i. 308.
——— Inventive, ii. 302.
——— Itonia, iii. 70.
——— Larissæa, ii. 190.
——— Meganira, i. 106.
——— Ophthalmitis, i. 282.
——— Panachais, ii. 199.
——— Perspicacious, i. 189.
——— Polias, ii. 160. 294.
——— Poliatis, ii. 326.
——— who is called Poliuchus and Chalcioecus, i. 279.
——— Promachoma, i. 220.
——— Pronoia, iii. 108.
——— Saitis, i. 226.
——— Sciras, i. 3. 100.
——— Sthenias, i. 214.
——— Telchinia, iii. 36.
——— Tritonia, ii. 256.
———, the Trumpet, i. 181.
——— Necessity, i. 137.
——— Nemesis, ii. 201.
——— the Nereid Doton, i. 128.
——— Neptune Asphalius, i. 262.
——— Epoptas, ii. 290.
——— Equestrian, ii. 245. 302. 306.
——— Gæauchus, i. 290.
——— Genesian, i. 229.
——— Hippocurius, i. 270.
Temple of Neptune Natal, i. 275.
——— Onchestian, iii. 51.
——— Phytalmius, i. 215.
——— Prosclystius, i. 184.
——— Tænarius, i. 264.
——— and its contents, i. 127.
——— Octavia, i. 131.
——— Œbalus, i. 275.
——— the god Ogoa, ii. 246.
——— Palæmon, i. 128.
——— Pallas and Evander, ii. 321.
——— Pan the Liberator, i. 214.
——— Nomian, ii. 310.
——— Pandrosus, i. 71.
——— Parthenon, i. 63.
——— Pelops, ii. 65.
——— Perseus, i. 170.
——— the goddess Persuasion, i. 144.
——— Phaenna, i 283.
——— the mother Plastene, ii. 34.
——— Polemocrates, i. 230.
——— Polias, i. 71.
——— the goddesses, called Praxidicai, iii. 68.
——— Promachos, iii. 42.
——— Proserpine the Saviour, i. 267.
——— the Huntress, iii. 84.
——— called Puthion, iii. 74.
——— of the Roman emperors, i. 298. ii. 142.
——— Safety, ii. 211.
——— Serapis, i. 137. 270. ii. 204.
——— Canopitanus, i. 137.
——— Silenus, ii. 141.
——— the goddess Syria, ii. 220.
——— Thetis, i. 270.
——— Tonstrina, ii. 298.
——— Triclaria, ii. 207.
——— Triptolemus, i. 105.
——— Trophonius, iii. 80.
——— Venus Celestial, i. 38. 188.
———, the ruins of, ii. 127.
——— Erycina, ii. 274.
——— Marine and Opportune, i. 221.
——— Martial, i. 281.
——— Melanis, i. 130. ii. 237. iii. 53.
——— Migonitis, i. 296.
——— Olympian, i. 267.
——— the Speculatrix, i. 214.
——— Sponsa, i. 215.
——— Summachia, ii. 244.

Temple of Venus, called the Temple in a Tile, ii. 327.
——— Urani[illegible] 269
——— Verticordia, i. 141.
——— Victims, i. 395.
——— Victory without wings, i. 57.
——— winged Victory, i. 206.
——— Violence, i. 137.
——— called the altar of the Cyclops, i. 128.
——— in Attica, called Colonies of Cities, i. 46.
——— to all the Gods, i. 131. 193. 297.
——— the Twelve Gods, ii. 277.
———, an ancient one, and its contents, i. 110.
———, one with a two-fold entrance, i. 191.
Tenerus, the plain, iii. 50.
———, the prophet, the son of Apollo and Melia, iii. 21. 50.
Tennes, iii. 123.
Tereus, the Thracian, iii. 32. 98.
Teucer, i. 78.
———, the posterity of, reigned over the Cyprians, i. 203.
Teumessus, a place in Thebes, iii. 36.
Teuthis, the village, ii. 287.
———, an Arcadian general, particulars of, ii. 287.
Teuthras, the Athenian, i. 306.
Teuthrone, a Spartan town, i. 295.
Thalamæ, a place so called in Sparta, i. 308.
Thales, the Milesian, iii. 150.
Thaliades, a place in Arcadia, ii. 277.
Thalpius, ii. 6.
Thamyris, the son of Philammon and the Nymph Argiope, i. 399. iii. 105.
———, a statue of, iii. 59.
———, a picture of, iii. 166.
———, the meaning of the blindness of, iii. 282.
Thasium, an Achaian city, ii. 162.
Theagenes, i. 109.
———, a statue of, ii. 102.
Theantus, the Olympic victor, ii. 95.
Thearidas, iii. 139.
Theatre at Athens, i. 58.
Thebaid, the, a verse from, ii. 278.
Theban kings, the genealogy of the, iii. 9.
Thebans, the, restored to their country, by Cassander the son of Antipater, i. 384.
———, the transactions of the, iii. 13.
Thebans, the, reduced by Sylla to a very calamitous condition, iii. 16.
Thebe, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 61.
——— Prometheus, iii. 10.
Thebes, the seven gates of, raised, according to Nonnus, agreeably to the number and order of the seven planets; and the meaning of this, ii. 309.
Theccaleom, a building so called in Altis, ii. 40.
Thelpusa, the city, ii. 276.
Themiscyra, i. 113.
Themisonium, the city, iii. 170.
Themistocles, ii. 336.
———, the offerings of, rejected by Apollo, iii. 124.
Theocles, the statuary, ii. 44.
Theoclus, the prophet of the Messenians, i. 352.
——— valiantly rushes on the Spartans, and falls covered with wounds, i. 368.
Theocosmus, the statuary, i. 110. ii. 93. iii. 111.
Theocrestus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 106.
Theodorus, the Samian, first discovered the method of casting iron, i. 266.
———, one of the first that taught how to cast brass, and melt it into statues, ii. 256.
———, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 118.
———, the father of the Sibyl Herophile, iii. 119.
Theognetus, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 98.
Theomelidæ, a place in Sparta so called, i. 269.
Theomnestus, the statuary, ii. 114.
Theophilus, the Athenian archon, iii. 95.
Theopompus, the son of Nicander, i. 237. 248. 258.
———, his speech to the Lacedæmonian army, i. 329.
———, a victor in the Olympic quinquertium, ii. 101.
———, Sinopensis, his account of a large skeleton, iii. 242.
Theopropus, the statuary, iii. 110.
Theotimus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 119.
Theoxenus, ii. 282.
Thera, a place near the mountain Taygetus, i. 291.
———, the island, ii. 150.

Therapne, i. 272. 288.
Theras, the son of Ion, i. 233.
———, the son of Autesion, i. 317. ii. 150.
Theron, the statuary, ii. 112.
Thermius, ii. 7.
Thermodon, the torrent, iii. 37.
Theronice, ii. 6.
Therophone, ii. 6.
Thersander, the son of Agamididas, i. 277.
———, the son of Polynices, ii. 153.
Thersilochus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 108.
Thersites, a picture of, iii. 166.
Thersius, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 21.
Theseus, picture of, &c. i. 8. iii. 163.
———, the meaning of the fable of, in which he is said to have been bound by Pluto, and liberated by Hercules, iii. 204, 205.
Thespia, the city, iii. 52.
Thespius, the son of Erechtheus, iii. 52.
Thesprotis, a piece of poetical composition, ii. 252.
Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip the son of Amyntas, ii. 239. iii. 15.
Thestius, the father of Leda, i. 268.
Thetis, a statue of, i. 296.
Thisbe, the city, iii. 65.
Thisoa, the Nymph, ii. 308. 309. 326.
Thius, the river, ii. 300.
Thoas, ii. 7. iii. 190.
Thocnia, the city, ii. 289.
Thocnus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229. 289.
Tholus, a place in Attica, containing silver statues, i. 12.
———, a round figure of white stone, i. 198.
Thornax, i. 259.
Thracians, the, called by the Greeks, Boreans, iii. 226.
Thracis, the city, iii. 95.
Thrasybulus, the Elean prophet, ii. 79. 247.
Thrasydrus, the Elean, makes a peace with the Lacedæmonians, i. 251.
Thronium, the city, ii. 60.
Thucydides, i. 61. ii. 123.
Thuriataræ, the city, i. 392.
Thyades, the, Attic women so called, iii. 97.
Thyia, the daughter of Castalius, iii. 103.
———, a picture of, iii. 162.
Thyiæ, a festival of the Eleans, in honour of Bacchus, ii. 144.
Thylacus, the statuary, ii. 62.
Thymoetes, the son of Oxyntas, i. 173.
Thyræum, the city, ii. 229.
———, ruins of, ii. 300.
Thyrea, the town, i. 229.
Tiasa, the river, i. 283.
———, the daughter of Eurotas, i. 283.
Tiber, the lake, ii. 17.
Tigea, a city of Arcadia, i. 190.
Tilphussa, the fountain, iii. 68.
Timænetus, a victor in the armed course, iii. 106.
Timagenidas, the Theban, ii. 172.
Timalco, i. 112.
Timandra, the daughter of Tyndareus, ii. 233.
Timanthes, the pancratiast, ii. 96.
Timarchides, the statuary, iii. 180.
Timasitheus, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 97.
Timeas, the statue of, i. 178.
Timocles, the statuary, iii. 180.
Timocratus, the Rhodian, bribes the Grecians to war on the Lacedæmonians, i. 255.
Timon, the Elean, conquered in the quinquertium, ii. 5. 116.
———, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 80.
———, the son of Ægyptus, ii. 106.
Timoptolis, the Elean, ii. 115.
Timosthenes, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 79.
Timotheus, the statuary, i. 214.
———, Cononis, i. 63.
———, the Milesian, a verse of, ii. 332.
Tipha, the city, iii. 66.
Tiphys, the pilot of the ship Argo, iii. 66.
Tiresias, the divining tower of, iii. 31.
———, a picture of, iii. 163.
———, the meaning of his becoming blind through beholding Minerva, iii. 315.
Tiryns, ruins of, i. 193.
Tirynthus, the son of Argus, i. 193.
Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, i. 172.
———, particulars of, i. 26", 264.
———, a king of the Thebans, iii. 13.
Tisander, the statuary, iii. 112.
———, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 109.
Tisias, the orator, ii. 120.
Tisicrates, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 99.

Tisis, the son of Alcis, i. 335.
Titan, the brother of the Sun, i. 155.
Titana, a town of the Sicyonians, i. 157. ii. 210.
Tithorea, iii. 171.
Tithraustes, i. 255.
Tithronium, the town, iii. 178.
Titus Flaminius, iii. 179. 185.
Tlepolemus, a victor in the Olympic race with a single mule, ii. 21.
Torches, an Argive festival so called, i. 192.
Tomb of Œdipus, i. 77.
——— the sons of Ægyptus, i. 189.
——— Ægyptus, the son of Belus, ii. 204.
——— Æpytus, ii. 261.
Tomb, called Æsymnium, i. 118.
—— of Agamemnon, and his charioteer Eurymedon, i. 168.
Tombs of the kings called Agidæ, i. 269.
Tomb of Alcman, i. 273.
——— Alcmene, i. 111.
——— Alope, i. 107.
——— Amphilocus, i. 275.
——— the children of Amphion, iii. 32.
——— Amphissa iii. 190.
——— Anchises, ii. 253.
——— Andræmon, iii. 190.
——— Androclus, the son of Codrus, ii. 152.
——— Anthemocritus, i. 99.
——— Antiope and Phocus, iii. 172.
——— Apollodorus, i. 82.
——— Aras, i. 153. 162.
——— the Arcadians that fell in the engagement against the Eleans, ii. 127.
——— Arcas, the son of Callisto, ii. 243.
——— Arcesilaus, iii. 81.
——— Argus, i. 184.
——— Ariadne, i. 178.
——— Aristocrates, ii. 254.
——— Aristodemus, ii. 302.
——— Aristomenes, and the manner in which the Messenians sacrifice on it, i. 396.
——— Aristias, the satirist, i. 160.
——— Asphodicus, iii. 36.
——— Astrabacus, i. 278.
——— Astycratea and Mantes, i. 118.
——— those Athenians that fought against the Æginetæ, i. 81.
Tomb in Athens, called the heroum of Ægeus, i. 57.
—— of Atreus, i. 167.
Tomb of Auge, the daughter of Aleus, ii. 232.
——— Autonoe, i. 122.
———, the daughter of Cepheus, ii. 244.
——— Brasidas, the son of Tellis, i. 269.
———, brazen, i. 183.
——— of Caanthus, iii. 20.
——— Callipolis, i. 116.
——— Callisto, ii. 301.
——— Calus, i. 54.
——— Car, the son of Phoroneus, i. 122.
——— Carpus, i. 351.
——— Castor, i. 267.
——— Cephisidorus, i. 100.
——— Cerdes, the wife of Phoroneus, i. 180.
——— Chalcodon, ii. 259. iii. 37.
——— Cinadus, i. 298.
——— Cleatus, i. 164.
——— the Cleonæi, i. 81.
——— Clisthenes, i. 81.
——— Clymene, the mother of Homer, iii. 151.
——— Clytemnestra and Ægisthus, i. 168.
——— Conon and Timotheus, i 83.
——— Coræbus, i. 119.
——— Corinna, iii. 43.
——— Cranaus, i. 87.
——— Cretan archers, i. 80.
——— Crotopus, i. 188.
——— Cylarabus, i. 186.
——— Cynortas, i. 266.
——— Demosthenes, i 216.
——— Diogenes of Sinope, i. 129.
——— Electra, i. 168.
——— Endymion, ii. 128.
——— Epaminondas, ii. 250.
——— Ephialtes and Lycurgus, orators, i. 83.
——— Epimelides, i. 402.
——— Epimenides, i. 181.
———, the Cretan, i. 263.
——— Epopeus, i. 154.
——— Eriphyle, i. 186.
——— Erisichthon, i. 86.
——— Eubulus, i. 82.
——— Eucosmus, the son of Lycurgus, i. 277.
——— Eumedes, i. 271.
——— Eumolpus, i. 104.
——— Eupolis, the Athenian, a writer of comedies, i. 143.
——— Eurybiadas, i. 278.
Tombs, royal, of the Eurypontidæ, i. 265.

Tomb of Eurypylus, ii. 196.
——— Eurystheus, i. 123.
——— Eurytus, i. 164.
——— heroic, of Ægeus, i. 275.
——— Ægialeus, i. 121.
——— Alcimus, i. 273.
——— Alcmæon, the son of Amphiaraus, ii. 274.
——— Alcon, i. 271.
——— Amphiaraus, i. 264.
——— Aratus, i. 146.
——— Aulon, i. 266.
——— Cadmus, i. 275.
——— Cecrops, the son of Pandion, iii. 68.
——— Chilon, i. 277.
——— Cleodæus, the son of Hyllus, i. 275.
——— Cynisca, i. 273.
——— Doceus, i. 273.
——— Echephron, ii. 274.
——— Enarephorus, i. 273.
——— Hippolytus, i. 265.
——— Hippothoon, i. 104.
——— Ino, i. 116.
——— Iolaus, iii. 44.
——— Iops, i. 264.
——— Iphigenia, i. 117.
——— Lelex, i. 264.
——— Perseus, i. 170.
——— Sebrus, i. 273.
——— the posterity of Oiolycus, i. 275.
——— Pleuron, i. 268.
——— Podares, ii. 245.
——— Promachus, ii. 274.
——— the son of Taygete, i. 290.
——— Teleclus, i. 27.
——— Theseus, i. 265.
——— Zarex, i. 104.
——— raised by Harpalus, i. 102.
——— of Hector, the son of Priam, iii. 36.
——— Heliodorus Halis, i. 100.
——— the Sibyl Herophile, iii. 118.
——— Hesiod, iii. 79.
——— the suitors of Hippodamia, ii. 133.
——— Hippolyte, i. 113.
——— Hippolytus, i. 55.
——— Hippos, or the Horse, i. 292.
——— Homer, iii. 151.
——— Hyacinthus, i. 232.
——— Hyllus, i. 112.
——— Hypermnestra and Lynceus, i. 180.
Tombs, royal, of the Iamidæ, i. 265.
Tomb of Idas and Lynceus, i. 266.
——— Ion, i. 87.
Tomb of Iphicles, the brother of Hercules, ii. 257.
Tombs of Iphimedea and the sons of Aloeus, iii. 44.
Tomb of Iphinoe, i. 118.
——— the sons of Iphitus, iii. 186.
——— certain knights, i. 80.
——— Ladas, i. 293.
——— Lais, i. 130.
Tombs of Laius and the servants that followed him, iii. 100.
Tomb of Las, i. 304.
——— Leagrus, i. 80.
——— Leitus, iii. 8.
——— Lelex, i. 121.
——— Leonidas, i. 269.
——— Licymnius, i. 185.
——— Linus, the son of Apollo, i. 176.
——— Lycurgus, i. 164.
——— Lycus, i. 143.
——— Lysander, iii. 66.
——— Machaon, i. 310.
——— the horses of Marmax, ii. 133.
——— the head of the Gorgon Medusa, i. 181.
——— Megareus, i. 114.
——— Melanippus, iii. 35.
——— Melesander, i. 81.
——— Melissa, i. 202.
——— Menoeceus, iii. 48.
——— Mermerus and Pheres, the sons of Medea, i. 133.
——— Miltiades, the son of Cimon, i. 89.
——— Minyas, iii. 79.
——— Molossus, i. 99.
——— Myrtilus, ii. 257.
——— Nicocles Tarentinus, i. 101.
——— Nileus, ii. 151.
——— the children of Œdipus, iii. 85.
——— Œnomaus, ii. 132.
——— Œnopion, ii. 161.
——— Œonus, i. 274.
——— Oicles, ii. 303.
——— Olynthus, i. 81.
——— Opheltes, i. 164.
——— Orestes, i. 262.
——— Orion, iii. 39.
——— Orsippus, i. 120.
——— Oxylus, ii. 141.
——— Pandion, i. 107. 113.
——— in Megalopolis, called Parœbasium, ii. 287.
——— of Patreus, ii. 200.
——— Patrocles, the father of Melissa, i. 202.

Tomb of Pausanias, the general of the Platæenses, i. 269.
——— Pelasgus, i. 183.
Tombs of the daughters of Pelias, ii. 248.
Tomb of Penelope, ii. 252.
——— Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio, i. 79.
——— Perseus Gorgophone, i. 182.
——— Phædra, i. 214.
——— Phocus, i. 205.
——— the Phoezi, ii. 249.
——— Phoroneus, i. 177.
——— Phytalus, i. 101.
——— Pindar, iii. 45.
——— Pittheus, i. 210.
——— the Bœotian Platæenses, i. 89.
——— Plato, i. 85.
——— Polemarchus, i. 237.
——— Preugenes, ii. 201.
——— Prometheus, ii. 153.
——— Psamathe, i. 176.
——— Pyrges, i. 118.
——— Pyrrho, the son of Pistocrates, ii. 140.
——— Pyrrhus, i. 181.
——— Rhadine and Leontichus, ii. 161.
——— a Rhodian, i. 102.
——— Sacadas, i. 185.
——— Saurus, ii. 132.
——— Semele, iii. 32.
——— certain Sicyonians, i. 143.
——— Sostratus, ii. 191.
——— Sphærus, the charioteer of Pelops, i. 216.
——— Sthenelus, i. 185.
——— Tænarus, i. 269.
——— Tantalus, i. 184.
——— Talaus, the son of Bias, i. 181.
——— Talthybius, i. 265.
——— the herald, ii. 211.
——— Tegeatas and his wife Mera, ii. 328.
——— Telamon, ii. 259.
——— Teledamus and Pelops, i. 168.
——— Telephas, the piper, i. 122.
——— Temenus, i. 228.
——— Tereus, i. 114.
——— Themiscyra, i. 114.
——— Themistocles, i. 100.
——— Theodectes, Phaselitas, Mnesitheus, i. 102.
——— Theodorus, the tragic actor, i. 101.
Tomb of Theopompus, the son of Nicander, i. 278.
——— Thersander, iii. 12.
——— the Thessalian knights, i. 80.
——— Thrasybulus, i. 79.
——— Thyestes, i. 170.
——— Tiresias, iii. 35.
——— Tolmides and his soldiers, i. 83.
——— Tyndareus, i. 281.
——— Urnethes, i. 187.
——— Xenodice, i. 143.
Tombs of Zeno, Chrysippus Solensis, Nicias, and Aristogiton, i. 84.
——— Zethus and Amphion, iii. 34.
Tomb, a common one of the Colophonians and Smyrnæans that died in battle, ii. 154.
———, common, of the Greeks, iii. 4.
———, a common one, of those that fell in the engagement against Alexander, iii. 25.
———, a common, of the Thebans that fell in the engagement against Philip, iii. 87.
Tombs of those that fell at Corinth, i. 82.
——— those that fought in a naval battle about the Hellespont, i. 83.
——— those that fell at Delium, i. 83.
——— those that Leosthenes led, i. 83.
——— those that followed Olympiodorus, i. 83.
——— certain soldiers, i. 83.
——— those that were led by Cimon, i. 83.
——— those that fell at Thebes, i. 106.
Tomb of those Athenians that fell in a battle against the Persians, i. 89.
——— of those that followed Ægialeus to the Theban war, iii. 37.
———, an empty one, of certain Argives, i. 178.
——— of the women that followed the army of Bacchus, i. 183.
———, a magnificent one belonging to the Jews, ii. 261.
——— of those that died fighting against the Medes, i. 118.
Tragus, a perpetual river, ii. 271.
Trajan, a statue of, ii. 31.
Trapegus, the city, ii. 229.
Trapezeus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
Trapezuntia, a place in Arcadia, ii. 288.

Trapezus, the city, ruins of, ii. 288.
Treasury, a, dedicated by Myron the Sicyonian tyrant, ii. 123, 124.
———, of the Carthaginians, ii. 124.
Treasuries in Olympia, an account of the, ii. 123—126.
Tretus, the town, i. 165.
Tricoloni, the city, ii. 229. 300.
Tricolonus, ii. 133. 229.
Tricrena, the boundaries of the Pheneatæ, ii. 260.
Trigonon, a place of judgment among the Athenians, i. 77.
Trinacria, the island, i. 220.
Trinasus, the walls of, i. 296.
Triopas, i. 165.
———, a statue of, iii. 115.
Tripodes, a road in Attica, i. 49.
Tripodiscus, the town, i. 120.
Tripods, brazen, called by Homer, destitute of fire, i. 396.
Triptolemus, ii. 193.
Trisaules, ii. 259.
Tritia, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 206.
———, the daughter of Triton, ii. 206.
Triton, a wonderful statue of, and particulars of, iii. 40.
Triton, the torrent, iii. 70.
Tritons, the form of the, iii. 40.
Troezenii, the, i. 207.
Troilus, a victor in the Olympic perfect chariot-race, ii. 77.
Trophæa, a place in Arcadia, ii. 276.
Trophonius, the architect, iii. 21.
———, remarkable account of the Cave and Oracle of, iii. 82—85.
——— and Agamedes, the architects, particulars of, iii. 77.
———, the death of, according to Cicero, iii. 316.
Troy, the subversion of a picture of, iii. 152.
Turbe, a festival of Bacchus so called, i. 190.
Tuthoa, the river, ii. 279.
Tydeus, the Elean, a statue of, ii. 116.
Tyndareus, i. 232. 276. 293.
———, the sons of, the cause of their wrath against the Messenians, i. 382.
Tyndarus, the sons of, i. 128.
Typhon Ægiensis, ii. 83.
Typhon, the symbolical meaning of, unfolded, iii. 260.
Tyronidas, ii. 327.
Tyrtæus, verses of, i. 327. 346. 348, 349.
Tyrtæus, an Athenian grammarian, i. 351, 352.
——— appeases the discontent of the Lacedæmonians by his verses, i. 359.
Tyrrhenus, the inventor of the trumpet, i. 181.

V.

Various, a place of disputation so called in Sparta, i. 275.
Venus, a grove of, ii. 203.
——— Ambologera, a statue of, i. 282.
——— Apostrophia, iii. 32.
——— Celestial, a statue of, iii. 32.
———, why so called, iii. 200.
———, the daughter of Dione, remarkable account of, from the MS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, iii. 200.
———, the ruler of the Fates, iii. 206.
——— Juno, the statue of, i. 268.
——— Mechanitis, a statue of, ii. 294.
———, why called Melanis, iii. 303.
——— Nicophoros, the statue of, i. 176.
——— Popular, iii. 32.
——— Praxis, i. 119.
———, why called Verticordia, iii. 247.
Venuvians, the, ii. 319.
Vespasian, the Roman emperor, imposed on the Greeks an annual tribute, ii. 190.
Vessels, the two placed by the throne of Jupiter, according to Homer, the meaning of, iii. 304.
Victory, a golden statue of, ii. 24.
Vipers in Arabia, the bite of, not dangerous, through their being fed with the juice of the balsam tree, iii. 55.
Virgil, iii. 296.
Vulcan, a definition of the nature of, iii. 197.

U.

Udæus, the Spartan, iii. 9.
Ulysses, i. 292. ii. 51.
———, a picture of, iii. 156.
Ulympicus, the Roman general, ii. 190.
Umbilicus, a place among the Phliasians, so called, i. 161.

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